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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY

A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,
MINISTER OF STATE.

TRANSLATED

BY R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

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I NOW return to the order of facts which I have been forced to anticipate, not to break in upon the recital of the events and reſults of the campaign of 1792.

Paris was ſtill the theatre of diſorder, pillage, and the greateſt exceſſes. The priſons which had been cleared by the maſſacre of the priſoners, were again filled by arbitrary arreſts. The Commune in this caſe left all to its Committee of Inſpection. This Committee had authorized ſome individuals to arreſt all perſons who appeared to them of ſuſpicious

ſuſpicious character; and theſe agents had other truſty ones, whom they inveſted with the ſame powers. The Miniſter of the Interior, to whom notice was given of theſe wicked attempts againſt liberty, went to the priſons, and there found about 500 perſons arreſted ſince the maſſacres, in conſequence of orders iſſued by the Municipality, or by the Sections, or by the people, or by various individuals, whoſe rank and powers he was entirely ignorant of. Some few of theſe orders were accounted for; but for the greater part no reaſon was given, and there were neither regiſters nor books of commitment in the priſons.

The ſpeaker, *Vergniaux*, giving an account of theſe circumſtances to the Aſſembly, exclaimed, "The Pariſians, ſo blind "are they, dare to call themſelves free! "True, they are no longer the ſlaves of "crowned tyrants, but they are ſtill ſo of "the worſt of men, and the moſt deteſtable "villains. It is time then to break theſe "ſhameful chains, to cruſh this new ty-"ranny. It is time that thoſe who have "hitherto made honeſt men tremble, ſhould "tremble in their turn. I am not ignorant "that they have daggers at their command.

" In the night of the 2d of September, that " night of proſcription, was it not at- " tempted to direct them againſt many of " the Deputies, and amongſt the reſt againſt " myſelf? Have we not been denounced to " the people as traitors? Happily it was, " indeed, that the people were there; the " aſſaſſins were occupied elſewhere. The " voice of calumny produced no effect, and " mine can ſtill make itſelf heard within " theſe walls; and be aſſured it ſhall thun- " der with all its force againſt crimes and " tyrants. What to me are their daggers " and their bravoes! What is life to the " Repreſentatives, when the ſafety of the " people is at ſtake! When *William Tell* " fixed the arrow that was to cleave the " fatal apple which a monſter had placed " upon the head of his ſon, he cried out, " *Periſh my name and my memory, be* " *Switzerland free!* And let *us* exclaim, " Periſh the National Aſſembly and its me- " mory together, provided France can be " free! Yes, periſh the National Aſſembly " and its memory, if it ſpare a crime that " would fix an indelible ſtain upon the " French name; if its vigour teach not the " nations of Europe, that notwithſtanding " thoſe

" thoſe calumnies with which it has been " attempted to diſhonour France, there are " yet, even in the very boſom of that anarchy " into which ſome brigands have plunged " us, there are yet in our country ſome " public virtues, and there are yet thoſe " to be found who reverence humanity."

The Aſſembly with enthuſiaſm roſe altogether and repeated theſe exclamations, which were applauded in the livelieſt manner by the galleries. It was expected that on the part of the Aſſembly ſome vigorous ſtep would be determined upon, ſome ſevere decree iſſued againſt the authors of theſe arbitrary arreſts, or at leaſt, that all thoſe who had been arreſted without any lawful reaſon would be ſet at liberty; but all this energy confined itſelf to merely declaring the Commune anſwerable with their lives for the ſafety of all the priſoners; this reſponſibility was illuſive, and the more ſo, becauſe the Aſſembly, who alone ſhould have poſſeſſed the right of making uſe of it, was under too ſervile ſubjection to the Commune to venture upon ſuch an act of ſupreme power. They manifeſted the ſame want of reſolution when the robbery of the *Garde-meuble* of the crown took place. The Miniſter of the

Interior, indeed, who came to give information of this atrocious act*, declared at the ſame time, that efforts were making to excite the people to a new inſurrection, that thoſe Deputies who had voted againſt the decree of impeachment of M. *de la Fayette* were particularly marked out for vengeance, by which about four hundred were threatened. Numerous pamphlets accuſed them of treaſon, as well as all the Miniſters, *Danton* excepted. The Electoral Aſſembly itſelf repeated and ſanctioned theſe invectives. Liſts of proſcription pointed out the names of the guilty, and *placards* ſtuck up in every ſtreet demanded their heads. "If it "muſt be ſo," ſaid one of the proſcribed Deputies, trembling, "let us die—let us "die at our poſt, provided France can be "ſaved:" and he propoſed to refer the

* This robbery was committed by forty armed men, who forced the windows of the *Garde-meuble* on the ſide of the Colonade, where they got up by means of ropes tied to the irons of the reflecting lamps, which were lighted; and neither the guard nor the centinels ſtationed in the *Place Louis XV.* perceived the robbers, or at leaſt they did not hinder them. The diamonds alone which were contained in this depoſit, and which had been valued by order of the Firſt Aſſembly, were worth nearly forty millions of livres.

denunciations

denunciations to the Committee. "What!" replied *Cambon*, "can we refer to Com-"mittees, when the ſovereignty is ſtill "uſurped? and by whom? By thirty or "forty perſons receiving the nation's money. "We have been often told that we were not "competent to meet the importance of cir-"cumſtances; let us prove ourſelves worthy "of our country. We have been promiſed "ſupport: It is time for every one to riſe. "Let us proclaim that it is time for the "citizens to arm." But the majority dared not ſpeak out; and the decree which intervened directed only that the Conſtituted Authorities ſhould be called to the Bar, in order that the Aſſembly might give them ſome inſight into the ſtate of the Capital, and remind them of their oaths.

In obedience to this decree *Petion* preſented himſelf the ſame day, at the Evening Sitting, and very pathetically deplored the exceſſes which were every day committed, and his own want of power; he lamented the abominable manœuvres which were put in practice to render a people of the mildeſt character ſanguinary and cruel, by perſuading them that they were always in a ſtate of inſurrection, even after the moment of

inſurrection was over. He complained likewiſe of being always the laſt perſon informed of what was going on, and of being thus deprived of every means of preventing any evil. Theſe complaints were not very encouraging. *Santerre*, the Commander of the National Guard, appeared at the Bar as ſoon as the Mayor had retired, and ſpoke much of the zeal and activity of the National Guard, promiſing that the diſorders with which they were threatened ſhould not take place; and he declared, with reſpect to the robbery of the *Garde-meuble*, that as ſoon as he had been acquainted with it he had demanded a conſiderable force, and that two hours after, all the barriers were guarded. "This force," added he, "I will now "double; the laſt remains of Ariſtocracy "are expiring; fear nothing; it ſhall never "again raiſe its head." An impoſture, however, ſo groſs as this could not deceive any one; and *Santerre*, leagued with the moſt violent Members of the Commune, and known to be one of the principal inſtigators of the popular commotions, inſpired no confidence by his aſſurances.

The diſcredit into which the Aſſembly was fallen, the dangers which threatened many

many of their Members, and the impatience with which they looked forward to the end of their ſeſſion, brought to remembrance the laſt moments of the Firſt Aſſembly, whoſe ſituation one year before was ſimilar, with only this difference, that the Legiſlative Body had moreover to fear, that before its ſeparation could take place ſome columns of huſſars might arrive at Paris, and handle the Repreſentatives of the nation too roughly. This was now their chief uneaſineſs, notwithſtanding the confidence and high-flown letters of *Dumourier*, which, inſtead of inſpiring hopes of ſecurity, were regarded as vain rhodomontades, and ſubjected him day after day to freſh orders to abandon his camp at St. Menehould, and to repaſs the Marne, that he might more effectually put a ſtop to, or at leaſt retard for a longer time the march of the Pruſſians. He did not indeed pay any regard to theſe orders, nor did he change any part of his plan. Upon this occaſion it is that he boaſts in his Memoirs* of having ſaved his country by uniformly diſobeying, throughout the campaign, the orders he received. Moſt certainly he did ſave *Robeſpierre*, *Danton*, *Marat*, the Commune of

* Vol. III. page 182.

Paris,

Paris, the Jacobin Club, and the aſſaſſins of the 2d of September, and conſolidated the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt. Many perſons are of opinion that he might have ſerved his country more completely had he joined his forces with thoſe of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and marched with him againſt Paris for the purpoſe of delivering the Royal Family, puniſhing the villanous, and preſerving the lives and rights of the virtuous part of the community.

Whilſt *Dumourier* was diſplaying his ſkill *in the nice ſcience of opportune diſobedience*, and was thus impeding the progreſs of the combined army, the Aſſembly, having been made acquainted by official reports that many of their Members were to be aſſaſſinated immediately after they had ceaſed their functions, denounced this plot to all the citizens in an addreſs, ſetting forth their having diſcovered that the inſtigators of this enormous deſign were emiſſaries in the pay of Auſtria, Pruſſia, and the Emigrants, who had projected this ſcheme of murder for no other purpoſe than to ſpread terror throughout the Departments, to extinguiſh all public ſpirit, and to prevent the National Convention from aſſembling, ſo that the

the Counter-revolution and re-eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm might have no further obſtacle to contend with. They warned the nation that a ſingle attempt againſt the perſon or the rights of its Repreſentatives would be ſufficient to enable the enemies of liberty to render uſeleſs all that had been done by any national repreſentation whatſoever; that hence all the decrees relative to the religious troubles, the Emigrants, the ſuppreſſion of federal rights, of tithes, of the ſalt duty, and of the nobility, as well as thoſe reſpecting the ſuſpenſion of the King and of the Civil Liſt, would then be annulled. This addreſs was publiſhed on the 19th of September, and the next day the Aſſembly paſſed a decree forbidding any one upon pain of death to ſound the tocſin or diſcharge the alarm-gun in the place where the Legiſlative Body reſided, unleſs previouſly ſo ordained by a decree. On the 21ſt at noon this Body cloſed their Seſſion.

The ſame day, and at the ſame hour, the Deputies of the National Convention met to the number of 371 in the Hall of the Palace of the Thuilleries, which had been prepared for them; and after verifying their powers declared the National Convention to be

be conſtituted. *Petion*, who preferred the honour of being a Member of this Aſſembly to being Mayor of Paris, in which ſituation, ſince the 10th of Auguſt, he had experienced nothing but diſguſt and humiliation, was almoſt unanimouſly choſen Preſident. His friend *Manuel* immediately propoſed that the Preſident of the Aſſembly ſhould thenceforth reſide in the National Palace of the Thuilleries, that the inſignia of law and power ſhould be always placed by him, and that every time he opened the Sitting the citizens ſhould be obliged to riſe. But *Chabot* cauſed this motion to be rejected, upon the ground, that the Aſſembly and its Preſident ſhould ſeek no other dignity than that of aſſimilating and blending themſelves with the *Sans-culottes*, who compoſed the majority of the nation. It was afterwards propoſed to proclaim on oath the ſovereignty of the people, to ſwear an equal hatred to Royalty, Dictatorſhip, Triumvirate, or any ſpecies of individual power whatever. This motion was no better received than the former; and it was obſerved, that the cuſtom which had obtained for the laſt four years of breaking all oaths had rendered them uſeleſs, and incapable of removing

moving the apprehenſions of the people. "There is another reſolution," ſaid the comedian *Collot D'Herbois*, "which you "cannot put off till to-morrow, which you "cannot defer till this evening, nay, which "you cannot delay a ſingle moment, with- "out acting contrary to the wiſh of the na- "tion: I mean the abolition of Royalty." This motion was applauded with tranſport by all the Members of the Aſſembly. One of the more moderate party obſerved, that merely to avoid alarming the people by enthuſiaſtic decrees, it would be proper to begin by diſ- cuſſing the queſtion. This Member was anſwered by the Deputy *Gregoire*. "What "neceſſity," ſaid he, "can there be for a "diſcuſſion, when every one is of the ſame "opinion: ſure I am there is no one among "us who would ever propoſe that the de- "ſtructive race of Kings ſhould be retained "in France. No; we are too well aware "that all theſe dynaſties have always con- "ſiſted of a ravenous brood, whoſe prin- "cipal nouriſhment has been human fleſh. "Kings are in the moral world what mon- "ſters are in the natural. Courts too are "the manufactories of crimes and the dens "of tyrants. The hiſtory of Kings is but

"the

" the martyrology of nations, and the de-
" tails of the crimes of *Louis* XVI. will
" ſerve as the preamble of our preſent
" decree." Theſe horrible vociferations excited the loudeſt burſts of applauſe. The debate was cloſed before it was ſcarcely opened. *Collot D'Herbois'* propoſition, with *Gregoire's* comments upon it, was put to the vote, and unanimouſly adopted in the following terms: *The National Convention decree that Royalty is aboliſhed in France.* This decree was paſſed amidſt ſhouts of joy and cries of *Vive la nation!* repeated by all the ſpectators, and continued for nearly a quarter of an hour. Thus was the moſt ancient and moſt glorious Monarchy in Europe brought to a miſerable termination; and to effect this total overthrow, three hundred and ſeventy-one deſperate villains had only to expreſs their wiſh to have it ſo—wretches, who almoſt to a man were never heard of before the Revolution, and now known only by their crimes.

The ſame day at four o'clock in the afternoon a Municipal officer, eſcorted by ſome *Gendarmes* on horſeback, and followed by an immenſe rabble, went and proclaimed in a very loud voice under the lower windows of

of the Temple the decree of the abolition of Royalty. The two Municipal officers who were then on guard in the apartment of the Royal Family were ſitting near the door, and fixed their eyes upon the King and Queen, at the ſame time ſmiling at them in a moſt inſolent manner. The King perceived it; he continued, however, reading a book which he had in his hand; his countenance underwent not the leaſt alteration. The Queen manifeſted no leſs firmneſs, and their Majeſties did not ſuffer the ſmalleſt indication of emotion to eſcape them, which would not have failed to increaſe the inhuman gratification of thoſe two hardened villains*. From this moment *Clery* was forbidden to mention the King and Queen, and their children otherwiſe than by their Chriſtian names, in the applications which he was under the neceſſity of making to obtain the ſeveral neceſſaries of which their Majeſties ſtood in need.

The National Convention at their ſecond Sitting decreed, that the Adminiſtrative, the

* *Hebert*, known by the name of *Pere-du-cheſne*, and *Deſtournelles*, ſince conſtituted Miniſters of the Public Contributions. (vid. *Clery*'s Journal, page 63.)

Municipal,

Municipal, and Judiciary Bodies ſhould be ſuperſeded, as well as the Juſtices of Peace, *all of whom were ſuſpected of unſound principles, and of being deeply tinctured with Royaliſm.* On the following day they declared that the Judges ſhould be choſen not from among the lawyers only, but alſo out of the citizens without diſtinction. This laſt arrangement however met with ſome oppoſition. It was obſerved, that if the ordinary intelligence of common ſenſe was ſufficient to give judgment upon matter of fact, ſtudy and a knowledge of the laws were neceſſary to decide upon matter of right. But to theſe objections it was replied, that the laws being no more than reaſon ſet down in writing, good ſenſe was of itſelf able to diſcriminate, and therefore rendered the ſtudy of them unneceſſary; that it was moreover highly requiſite to guard againſt the introduction of a Civilian Ariſtocracy: beſides, the election of the Judges being transferred to the people, every reſtriction conſtraining the freedom of their choice would be a blow levelled againſt their ſovereignty.

The debates grew ſtill more violent, and thoſe which took place in the Convention four

four days after its opening, and continued through many Sittings, at once characteriſed the different parties of which the Aſſembly was compoſed, and marked thoſe men who, by their talents, or, more properly ſpeaking, by their audacity and wickedneſs, were likely to obtain the aſcendancy. And here Hiſtory muſt collect with peculiar care the particulars of that remarkable diſpute in conſequence of which ſo many important diſcoveries were made relative to the proceedings of the 10th of Auguſt, and the maſſacres in the beginning of September. The Aſſembly were occupied with a motion made by the Deputy *Kerſaint*, a zealous Member of the Jacobin Club, and known as the author of ſome violent Revolutionary publications. "We have now," ſaid he, "placed "the laws upon the throne; but before this "could be effected the National Convention "were obliged to do away every cauſe of diſ- "truſt. The time is now come, therefore, to "erect ſcaffolds for the aſſaſſins and their "inſtigators. No doubt your hearts have "trembled with indignation at the bare "thought of thoſe ſcenes of horror by "which they have laboured to diſhonour "the French name; this is to be regarded

" as the laſt machination of our enemies. " Perhaps there may be ſtill courage enough " left amongſt us to oppoſe theſe aſſaſſins*. " I move, therefore, that the Convention " ſhould immediately apply itſelf to putting " a ſtop to ſuch enormities of anarchy, and " that four Commiſſioners be appointed to " look into the ſituation of the kingdom in " general, and of the Capital in particular, " and to lay before you the neceſſary means " to ſecure the public tranquillity, and " avenge the violated rights of man."

This motion at firſt was much applauded, and could be oppoſed only by the villains whom it menaced. The moſt ſhameleſs of theſe, *Tallien*, dared to maintain, that it was irrelevant and nugatory, becauſe there were laws to meet the exigency, and it belonged to the Courts of Juſtice excluſively to apply them. " Why," added he, " ſhould we " at this inſtant ſo vehemently ſet ourſelves " againſt what is called aſſaſſination and

* The principal Members of the Commune of Paris, who, as I have before ſhown, cauſed the priſoners to be murdered, were Deputies of the Convention, and it is more than probable that amongſt the brigands who at that moment filled the galleries, there were ſome of the aſſaſſins of the 2d of September.

" plunder ?

" plunder? Is it then forgotten that we are " engaged in war, and that we have 30,000 " Frenchmen upon the frontiers; that there " are alſo certain of our countrymen in the " interior who ſend them intelligence of all " our movements, of all our meaſures, and " do we ſtill affect to talk of the impro- " priety of diſtruſt?" It is not difficult to diſcover in this language the worthy ſecretary of that Commune of the 10th of Auguſt, whoſe ſuſpicions were manifeſted by ſo many aſſaſſinations, as well as by their diſorganizing or uſurping all the public authorities.

The ſentiments of *Tallien* were defended by two of his colleagues in the Commune, *Collot D'Herbois* and *Sergent*. *Kerſaint*'s motion was ſupported by the Girondiſts, and principally by *Buzot*, who further moved, that the Convention ſhould have a reſpectable force, taken out of the 83 Departments, conſtantly attending upon them.

This motion was as favourably received as that which *Kerſaint* had made, and the decree which enacted both concluded the Sitting.

The next day one of the Members of

Robeſpierre's party moved that the decree relative to the formation of a guard for the Convention ſhould be revoked, as being both reproachful and humiliating to the Capital, which, from its conſtant and important ſervices during the Revolution, had demonſtrated itſelf worthy of the whole confidence of the Aſſembly. Many ſpeakers roſe at once to oppoſe this motion. The cries of *To the order of the day! Queſtion! Queſtion!* reſounded through the Hall. In the midſt of the tumult *Merlin* ſeized an opportunity to ſpeak. "The true order of "the day," ſaid he, "is to put a ſtop "thoſe ſuſpicions which may injure the "common-weal. If our fellow citizens "be deſirous of entering the liſts with "the enemies of liberty, it is expedient "that they ſhould be well aſſured they are "contending in behalf of all thoſe who "conſtitute the Republic, and not on the "ſide of Dictators or Triumvirs. I demand "that thoſe who are acquainted in this Aſ-"ſembly with any perſons baſe enough to "aſpire to a Triumvirate or a Dictator-"ſhip may point out to me thoſe whom I "ought to ſtab. For this purpoſe I call "upon *La Source*, who yeſterday aſſerted

"that

" that there abſolutely did exiſt a dictatorial " party in the Aſſembly, to declare them " perſonally; and I proteſt I here ſtand " ready to ſtab the firſt man who would " arrogate to himſelf the power of Dic- " tator."

La Source, thus addreſſed, declared, that on the day before at the Jacobin Club he had heard two-thirds of the Convention denounced as deſirous of cruſhing the true friends of the people, and of extinguiſhing liberty; that he believed there really did exiſt a party who were endeavouring to render the National Convention unpopular, to domineer over it, and at length having entirely overthrown it, to reign under ſome other title, by inveſting a few individuals with the whole of the National power. " I " do not," added he, " name any particular " perſon, becauſe as yet I have ſeen more " of the meaſures than of the men. I " have carefully attended to the whole " ſcheme, and have withdrawn the curtain. " I fear the deſpotiſm of Paris: I would " not that men who influence the opinion " of thoſe whom they have miſled ſhould " govern with arbitrary ſway the National " Convention and all France. I would not

" that Paris, managed by ſuch an intriguing " ſet, ſhould become in the French Empire " what Rome was in the Roman: and " above all, I blame thoſe men who have " never ceaſed to point daggers againſt thoſe " Members of the Legiſlative Aſſembly " who had moſt firmly defended the cauſe " of liberty; whoſe oppoſition and energy " they alſo feared. It is thoſe men I blame, " who the very day on which they com- " mitted the maſſacres in the priſons, car- " ried their undaunted iniquity *ſo far as* " *even to iſſue writs of arreſts againſt* " *eight Deputies who have continually ex-* " *erted themſelves on the ſide of liberty,* " *and have never given utterance to a ſin-* " *gle opinion contrary to the wiſhes and* " *intereſts of the people.*"

" That party which the laſt ſpeaker has " marked, though not named," exclaimed the Deputy *Rebecqui*, " is *Robeſpierre*'s " party. There ſtands the man whom I " denounce to you." *Danton*, the friend, the accomplice, and by turns the protector of *Robeſpierre*, and protected by him, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in his behalf upon this occaſion, by inſiſting upon the little attention that was due to a denuncia-

tion

tion which was not ſigned, by ridiculing the alarms which perſons affected to ſpread abroad reſpecting the project of eſtabliſhing a Triumvirate or a Dictatorſhip; and laſtly, by calling the attention of the Aſſembly to another denunciation: "Let us, if you "will," ſaid he, "let us pronounce ſen- "tence of death upon every one, whoſo- "ever he may be, that ſhall declare in fa- "vour of a Dictatorſhip or Triumvirate; "but after having laid this foundation to "ſecure the reign of equality, let us in the "next place aboliſh that ſpirit of party "which will otherwiſe be our deſtruction. "It is pretended truly that there are amongſt "us certain perſons who are deſirous of "parcelling out France into Federal Re- "publics. Let us get rid of ſuch abſurd "notions, by making it death alſo for any "one who will attempt to deſtroy unity in "France." Many voices loudly contradicted this pretended project of Federal Republics, and called upon *Danton* to declare upon what foundation, and with what proof he had ventured to aſſert ſuch a fact. He made no reply, and *Robeſpierre* roſe to ſpeak. With the moſt conſummate hypocriſy he ſuppreſſed the tone of his voice,

arranged his words, and compoſed his countenance, ſo that no one might perceive the rage with which he was inwardly tranſported. He ſpoke for more than an hour, juſtifying himſelf on points of which he was not accuſed, and ſtudiouſly avoiding to give any pertinent anſwer to the direct queſtions by which he was every moment interrupted, in order to bring him back to thoſe facts which his accuſers required him to explain. I will limit myſelf, in the report of his ſpeech, to thoſe paſſages which juſtify the idea I have juſt before given of him.

"In aſcending this Tribune, to anſwer "to the accuſation brought againſt me, I "do not conſider myſelf as about to plead "my own cauſe, but the cauſe of the "public. When, therefore, I advance any "thing in my juſtification, do not ſuppoſe "that I am concerned for myſelf, but for "my country. For you, Citizen, who "have had the boldneſs to accuſe me before "the Repreſentatives of that people whoſe "rights I have ſupported ſo often in this "very place where I am now accuſed, you "have my thanks. In this act of yours I "recogniſe all that civiſm which cha-

"racteriſes

" racteriſes the celebrated city of Marſeilles,
" whence you are deputed. Yes, Citizen,
" I thank you, for we ſhall all profit by
" this accuſation. There are men who
" would ſink under the weight of an accu-
" ſation of tyranny; but I dread no ſuch
" diſaſter, and for this I have to thank mine
" enemies; for this I am beholden to my
" efforts in the cauſe of liberty. I, thus
" accuſed, am he who for three years to-
" gether ſtood forth in the Conſtituent
" Aſſembly againſt the views of all the dif-
" ferent factions. It is I who have all
" along ſtruggled againſt the Court influ-
" ence, who have ſcorned its preſents, have
" deſpiſed the careſſes of that party, who,
" under the maſk of patriotiſm, aroſe to
" oppreſs liberty. It is I——" " *All this*
" *has nothing to do with the queſtion,*"
ſome one exclaimed; " *amuſe us not with*
" *your deeds in the Conſtituent Aſſembly,*
" *but tell us plainly whether you have or*
" *have not aſpired to the Dictatorſhip or*
" *the Triumvirate.*"—" Citizens," he went
on, " is it your opinion, that he who is
" accuſed of being a traitor to his country,
" has no right to oppoſe the whole tenor of
" his life to ſo vague a charge as this? It
" may

" may perhaps be deemed as in ſome de-
" gree operating in my favour, that I have
" for three years together given an unim-
" peachable proof of my patriotiſm, and
" have, during all that time, uniformly
" rejected the ſeductive ſuggeſtions of va-
" nity and ambition. Well, then, it is I,
" whoſe name has been attached to the
" names of thoſe who have fearleſsly de-
" fended the people's rights; it is I, who
" not only braved the reſentment of the
" Ariſtocratic party who were ſo active in
" the *Coté-droit*, but what was more,
" withſtood the perfidy of thoſe hypocrites
" who bore ſway in the *Coté-gauche*; it is
" I who——" " *Be brief, be brief,*" was repeated on all ſides. " No, I will not be
" brief, and I dare to recall you to a juſt
" ſenſe of your dignity. It is not enough
" to hear the accuſed; you ought to hear
" him in order, without interruption or
" outrage. Some have concluded that I
" ought to anſwer this plain queſtion as
" plainly, *Have you aſpired either to the*
" *Dictatorſhip or the Triumvirate?* I have
" only to ſay, that if I anſwer by a ſimple
" negation, I ſhould do nothing; I aſſert
" that I am not accuſed, becauſe nothing

" but

" but an unſigned denunciation can be
" brought againſt me: nay, I aſſert that
" this denunciation itſelf is a crime, and I
" pronounce that it is not levelled againſt
" me for my deſtruction, but to ruin the
" common-weal. The beſt anſwer that
" can be given to ſuch groundleſs accuſa-
" tions, is to prove that our conduct has
" always been of a contrary tendency.
" *You aſpire to the Dictatorſhip*, ſay they,
" but no proof is objected to us; and, to
" ſay the truth, we have on our part ſuſ-
" pected, from certain facts, that our ac-
" cuſers have been deſirous of giving us a
" Government foreign to our manners and
" to our principles of equality; that they
" have been inclined to convert the French
" Republic into a maſs of Federal Repub-
" lics. Theſe ſuſpicions have ſuggeſted
" themſelves to us when we have witneſſed
" certain perſons affecting to calumniate
" others, whoſe deſire it has always been
" that liberty ſhould continue undivided.
" When too we have heard the Commune
" accuſed; when we have ſeen all thoſe
" blows which have been aimed at the moſt
" abandoned men miſrepreſented as crimes,

" by

" by being looked at without their concomitant circumſtances, and ſtripped of all " their Revolutionary characteriſtics; when " alſo we have obſerved all theſe facts rejected upon authorities conſtituted on Revolutionary principles in Paris, then it " was that we believed there was ſome deſign forming to eſtabliſh a Federal Republic. What! is it ſufficient pretext " for the accuſation of a citizen to tell him, " *You aſpire to the Dictatorſhip?* What " are your facts, where are your proofs? " Doubtleſs you concluded that this expreſſion thrown out againſt me would " make me the object of perſecution: you " are ignorant then what is the force of " truth, and how great is the energy of innocence, when upheld by ſteady courage. " You have accuſed me—it is well; but " the matter ſhall not reſt here; you ſhall " ſign this denunciation, you ſhall give reaſons for it; it ſhall be tried before the " face of the whole nation: it muſt be " known whether we be traitors or not, " and whether we really have formed deſigns ſubverſive of liberty, and inimical " to the rights of the people, whom we

" have

" have never flattered; for not the people,
" but tyrants only are the objects of adula-
" tion; an aggregate of twenty-five mil-
" lions of human creatures can no more be
" flattered than the Divinity himself."

He then finished with supporting the motion, that no one, upon pain of death, should propose a Dictatorship or a Triumvirate, or any other power that might militate against that system of liberty which the nation had already adopted; and added to it, that the French Republic should be proclaimed one and indivisible, which declaration was unanimously decreed.

This defence of *Robespierre* did not meet with a single token of applause; on the contrary, the frequent murmurs of the majority of the Assembly showed plainly the dissatisfaction and disgust with which they had heard it. Hardly had he descended from the Tribune, when *Barbaroux*, the Marseillois, came forward to sign the denunciation which *Rebecqui* had made. " We
" were at Paris," said he; " *you know the*
" *patriotic conspiracy which was formed*
" *to pull down the tyrant Louis XVI.*
" The Marseillois having brought about
" that Revolution, it was not to be won-

" dered at that they ſhould be ſought by all " the various parties who at that time un- " happily divided Paris. We were deſired " to go to *Robeſpierre*'s houſe; there we " were told that it was neceſſary for us to " join ourſelves to thoſe citizens who had " acquired popularity. The citizen *Panis* " pointed out to us *Robeſpierre* by name " as a virtuous citizen, who was to be " Dictator of France; but we gave him for " anſwer that the Marſeillois would never " bow their heads to Kings or Dictators. " This then is the ſubſtance of what I will " ſign, and what I defy *Robeſpierre* to " contradict. I declare to you I once loved " *Robeſpierre*, I eſteemed him; let him " now acknowledge his fault, and I will " no farther purſue my accuſation; but let " him not talk of calumny."

Many more Deputies, who had been Members of the Legiſlative Body, then proved, by the recapitulation of all the acts of deſpotiſm practiſed by the Commune of Paris ſince the 10th of Auguſt, that the project of eſtabliſhing a Dictatorſhip or a Triumvirate had not only exiſted, but had been abſolutely realized, and was not yet given up, ſince that illegal Commune,

cluding

eluding all the decrees which had ordained that they ſhould be diſſolved, perſiſted in their refuſal to obey the law. The circular letter was produced which this Commune had addreſſed to the Municipalities, to invite them to join them, and, after their example, to maſſacre all their priſoners. The Commiſſioners too were mentioned whom they had ſent through all the kingdom, and to the armies, who alſo, by virtue of thoſe powers with which they had inveſted them, turned out whole Departments and Municipalities, and gave orders to Generals; they were accuſed of interfering with the management of the public banks, placing their ſeals upon them, iſſuing their denunciations and writs of arreſt againſt ſeveral Deputies and Miniſters; the imperious and menacing tone with which they had recently dictated decrees to the Legiſlative Body was noticed, as was the inſolence with which they entered the public buildings to take poſſeſſion of all the valuable effects, without drawing up any minutes of their removal, and without paying any regard to thoſe decrees which ordered them to bring ſuch effects to the National Treaſury, &c.

One

One of the moſt flagitious Members of this Commune, who was alſo of the Committee of Inſpection *, was bold enough to undertake to juſtify all theſe flagrant enormities, by attaching to them the moſt impudent falſehoods as the motives which induced them. "I was," ſaid he, "at the "Mayor's houſe with *Sergent*; the citizens "came every moment to relate to us their "fears relative to the Palace of the Thuil-"leries. They brought us word that a "project was forming to murder all the "patriots in the night between the 9th and "10th of Auguſt: they not only laid be-"fore us many indications of this, but the "cleareſt proofs alſo were added. We took "the depoſitions of an immenſe number of "citizens; the proofs are yet in being, and "we will produce them†. I then addreſſed "myſelf to *Barbaroux*, to intreat him to "engage the Marſeillois to come to the "*barracks of the Cordeliers*. I ſaid to "him, 'If the Marſeillois be there, it may

* *Panis*, *Santerre*'s brother-in-law.

† This engagement, however, never was fulfilled.

'be

'be poſſible to extricate ourſelves from our 'preſent ſituation, and it is a terrible one! 'We are ruined if we do not ſucceed in 'emptying this Trojan Horſe;—for this was 'the term I then gave to the Palace of the 'Thuilleries.—Fifteen thouſand Ariſtocra-'tic hirelings are ready to cut our throats!'

"What could be done in ſuch circumſtances? "The bomb was about to burſt: we were "loſt for ever, had we not been dexterous "enough to prevent the blow. Many ex-"cellent citizens were too confident; they "wiſhed for legal proofs; *but political* "*proofs were ſufficient for us**. We re-"ſolved to make the whole attempt by "ourſelves; and for this purpoſe we brought "over to us a certain number of citizens, "in order to lay the patriotic plan of be-"ſieging the Thuilleries. We aſſembled "at the Cordeliers, and if our inſurrection "had not taken place, we muſt all have "been murdered. Of this you ſhall ſee "the proofs; they are infinite, demonſtra-

* Thus this plan of cutting the throats of all the patriots, announced at firſt as proved in the cleareſt manner, and by the depoſition of an immenſe number of citizens, was verified only by political proofs.

" ble, and evident. You remember our " poſition at the Mayor's houſe; the only " two warm patriots were *Sergent* and my- " ſelf. We were encompaſſed on all ſides " with the Ariſtocracy of our offices, and " with ſpies: we reſolved, therefore, to " form a Secret Committee, to collect all " the inſtructions which the worthy citizens " had brought us. The Marſeillois, as " well as ourſelves, glowed with an eager " deſire to overthrow deſpotiſm. They " took up their quarters in the barracks of " the Cordeliers; they came on the morrow " to aſk for ammunition. We could not " deliver any to them without the ſignature " of the Mayor; but we were afraid to " ſpeak to him about it, becauſe he was " not ſufficiently miſtruſtful. At length a " young Marſeillois, putting a piſtol to his " throat, cried out, '*I will kill myſelf,* " *unleſs you give me the means to protect* " *my country.*' He forced tears from our " eyes, and in the end we by ourſelves " ſigned the order to deliver out the am- " munition. As to Citizen *Barbaroux*, I " ſaw nothing of him after; and I ſolemnly " ſwear that I never uttered a word to him " of a Dictatorſhip. Whence could he

" bring

" bring ſuch an accuſation? Who are his " witneſſes?"—" I," cried the Deputy *Rebecqui*. " You are his friend," reſumed the ſpeaker; " I object to you."

The confeſſions which eſcaped this wretch among all his fabrications, and the aſſertions of *Barbaroux*, threw very conſiderable light upon the fatal events of the 10th of Auguſt, which they ſtill had the impudence to impute to *Louis* XVI. and to the pretended machinations of the Court, which in fact contented itſelf with fruitleſs wiſhes for the ſafety of the Royal Family, and contrivances for their eſcape.

Panis alſo with great aſſurance affected to juſtify the Commune's Committee of Inſpection, and maintained that the writs of arreſt with which they had been reproached were all iſſued for the ſecuring thoſe perſons who had been denounced: that the object of ſending the Commiſſioners into the Departments, was to purſue the traitors who were attempting to make their eſcape, and to ſtop the exportation of money, &c. " We have " ſaved you," cried he, " and you in re- " turn overwhelm us with calumny: ſuch " is the fate of thoſe who ſacrifice them- " ſelves, that liberty may triumph."

Marat, who in his Journal and placards had publicly declared the neceſſity of having a Dictatorſhip, and had marked out the wiſe, the virtuous, the brave *Robeſpierre*, as the man who ought to be inveſted with the whole authority, *Marat* himſelf, accuſed by the majority of the Aſſembly, and feebly ſupported by his own accomplices, was daring enough to aſcend the Tribune; and notwithſtanding that the loudeſt cries of *Down with him, down with that monſter*, burſt from every mouth, he was not intimidated, but exclaimed, "I have, I perceive, a great many perſonal enemies in this Aſſembly."—*The whole, the whole*, cried all the Members together, at the ſame time riſing with indignation.—"But," continued he, "if they have any ſenſe of ſhame; ſurely I muſt rouſe it; I, who after having devoted myſelf to my country and to their ſafety, am thus reſiſted with empty clamours, hootings, and threats; let them be ſilent one moment and hear me. Perſons have dared to accuſe the Deputation of Paris with aſpiring to the Tribunate; be it ſo. I, however, owe it in juſtice to my colleagues, and eſpecially to *Robeſpierre* and *Danton*,

" *Danton*, to declare that they have uni-
" formly diſapproved of all ideas of Tri-
" bunate, Triumvirate, and Dictatorſhip.
" If any one be to blame in having ſuffered
" ſuch notions to go abroad, I am the man;
" on my head let the vengeance of the
" nation fall; but before diſgrace or death
" be aſſigned me, condeſcend to give me a
" hearing. In the midſt of the plots and
" treaſons which were ſo frequent through-
" out the country, perceiving alſo the atro-
" cious deſigns of a perfidious Court, and
" of all the agents of deſpotiſm who had
" ſeats in the Legiſlative Aſſembly; at a
" time alſo when the Conſtituted Authori-
" ties only ſerved to load liberty with
" chains, and to murder the patriots under
" pretence of the law; in ſuch a juncture
" of circumſtances, will you impute it as a
" crime againſt me, that I propoſed the
" only expedient which I thought could
" poſſibly preſerve us, when we ſtood on
" the brink of an abyſs yawning to receive
" us? If you ſhould call me guilty, the
" body of the people would give the lie to
" your charge; for obedient as they have been
" to my voice, they have been convinced that

" the means which I propoſed were the only
" meaſures by which the country could be
" ſaved; and taking the Dictatorſhip upon
" themſelves, have found the way to get rid
" of traitors. If the people had always fol-
" lowed my counſel, on the very day on
" which the Baſtille was deſtroyed, they
" would, at my ſuggeſtion, have ſtruck off
" the heads of 500 ſcheming Counter-
" revolutioniſts; all would have this day
" been quiet; traitors would have trem-
" bled, and juſtice and liberty would have
" now reigned together within theſe walls.
" Well, then, I have from time to time
" propoſed to veſt a prompt authority in
" the hands of a man of juſt and firm pur-
" poſe, under the denomination of Tribune
" of the People, Dictator, or any other,
" for the title is of no concern; but as a
" proof that I was deſirous of binding him
" to the country, I demanded that he ſhould
" be kept cloſe to the duties of his office,
" and that he ſhould have no other autho-
" rity than that of cutting off the heads of
" thoſe whoſe crimes deſerved it. Such
" was my opinion, which I have not pri-
" vately circulated, but have openly ex-

" preſſed

" preſſed in my publications. I have " avowed it, and I do not bluſh at having " done ſo. If you yet are not competent " to underſtand me, ſo much the worſe for " you. If any one here look upon my " ideas as of dangerous tendency, let him " refute them by ſubſtantial proofs. I will " readily yield, and it ſhall be ſeen that I " have as much at heart as any one, be he " who he may, the preſervation of order " and peace, and the government of the " laws when they ſhall be framed in juſ- " tice."

This ſpeech was often interrupted by the moſt violent murmurs; but the indignation of the Aſſembly roſe to its height, when one of the accuſers of *Marat*, confronted with the ſentiments he had juſt delivered upon the eſtabliſhment of order and peace, others which he had that very day publiſhed in his Journal, out of which the following paſſage was read: " *What hurts me is, to* " *find that my efforts for the ſafety of the* " *people muſt all end in nothing without* " *a freſh inſurrection. To look at the* " *temper of the greater part of the Depu-* " *ties, I confeſs I deſpair of the public* " *ſafety. If during the eight firſt Sittings*

" *the fundamental principles of the Conſti-*
" *tution be not all ſettled, expect no more*
" *from this Aſſembly, you are irretrievably*
" *loſt. Years of anarchy await you, and*
" *no other way can you eſcape from it than*
" *by chooſing a Dictator in the perſon of a*
" *true patriot and a ſtateſman.*" Scarcely had they heard this article read through, when the whole Aſſembly inſiſted that *Marat* ſhould be ſent to the Abbaye, and a decree of accuſation be paſſed againſt him: ſome Members propoſed that he ſhould be confined as a madman. He roſe with the greateſt indifference and aſked leave to ſpeak. He did not diſavow the writing which had been juſt read, but maintained that he wrote it ten days before, at the time when he beheld men of the Gironde faction elected Deputies of the Convention—men whom he had denounced as enemies of the public; that if this writing, which he had cauſed to be poſted up ten days ago, appeared ſo late in his Journal, it was to be aſcribed to the negligence of his printer; but, as an inconteſtable proof that he was anxious to proceed ſtep by ſtep with the Aſſembly, and with the friends of the country, it would be ſeen, that in the firſt number of a new Journal, which

which he had recently undertaken, by the title of the *Republican*, he had ſpoken of the early labours of the Convention with much reſpect. The Aſſembly ordered this diſguſting publication to be read, in which *Marat* diſplayed his ſagacity by three hundred predictions, pretended to have come to paſs. He proved his moderation alſo by the following reſolutions:—"O holy love "of our country, at thy ſhrine do I this "day offer up all my prejudices, my reſent- "ments, and averſions. When I perceive "the wicked attempts of the enemies to "liberty, when I behold the outrages com- "mitted againſt her children, I will, if "poſſible, ſtifle in my breaſt the indignant "emotions which they excite; I will liſten "without maddening with rage to the re- "cital of the maſſacre of old men and in- "fants, murdered in cold blood by cowardly "aſſaſſins; I will look upon the intrigues "of traitors to their country, without call- "ing down upon their guilty heads the "ſword of popular vengeance. Thou, Di- "vinity, who preſideſt over ſouls that are "uncorrupt, lend me fortitude to perform "my vow."

After the reading of this paſſage, *Marat* reſumed:

reſumed: "I flatter myſelf that now you "have no further doubt of the purity of "my intentions. And yet, notwithſtand-"ing all this, had it ſo happened that in "conſequence of the negligence of the "printer, this my juſtification had not "come before you to-day, you would have "devoted me to the power of tyrants. "Shame on ſuch madneſs; it is unworthy "of free men:—but, I fear nothing under "the ſun;" (At theſe words he drew a piſtol from his pocket and clapped it to his forehead;) "and I have to declare to you, "that had the decree of accuſation paſſed "againſt me, I would have blown my "brains out at the foot of this Tribune. "And this would have been the fruit of three "years ſpent in confinement and of the an-"guiſh endured by me to ſave my country. "This, the reward of all my watchings, "all my labours, all my miſeries, all my "ſufferings, all the dangers which I have "gone through!—But no more. Here, "amongſt you all, will I remain and brave "your fury." The moſt violent murmurs prevented his going on. He came down from the Tribune amidſt the cries and hootings of the Aſſembly, who put an end

end to this diſguſting ſcene by paſſing to the order of the day.

Such was the iſſue of the firſt diſpute that aroſe in the Convention between the faction of the Girondiſts, who wiſhed for a Government purely Republican, and a party who, with democratic forms and Republican names, were eager to eſtabliſh a deſpotic one, and to concentrate all its powers in the hands of *Robeſpierre*. I have impoſed upon myſelf the taſk, to me moſt painful, and to my readers perhaps unpleaſing, of faithfully reporting the words of the principal Members of both factions; becauſe this appeared to me the moſt proper method to make them known, and at the ſame time to ſecure myſelf from all imputation of prepoſſeſſion.

The Girondiſts triumphed upon this occaſion; they carried a conſiderable majority. The faction of *Robeſpierre* was confined within the Convention to the Deputation of Paris; but out of doors, he had on his ſide the Commune, the Jacobins, and the populace: with ſuch ſupport he was ſure of being able to reinforce his party very ſoon, not only with the greateſt deſperadoes of the Aſſembly, but alſo with all thoſe cowardly villains

villains whom the dread of his revenge would bring over to him.

To this diſpute ſucceeded very unintereſting debates upon the queſtion, whether *Roland* being appointed a Member of the Convention, and having given in his reſignation of the Miniſtry of the Interior, ſhould be invited by the Aſſembly to continue in the Adminiſtration or not. *Danton*, who was preciſely in the ſame ſituation, but to whom no one thought of making the ſame offer, declared that if it were made to himſelf he would not agree to it, as he preferred the character of a Repreſentative of the People to any Miniſtry whatever. In another Sitting, for this miſerable diſcuſſion took up many, he obſerved, that ſhould the Aſſembly addreſs an invitation to *Roland*, it would be neceſſary to ſend a ſimilar one to his wife, becauſe the character which ſhe had acted in her huſband's department was known to every body. The ſame queſtion was again brought forward when the Miniſter *Servan* gave in his reſignation on account of his health. The majority of the Convention expreſſed much anxiety to retain two men in the Miniſtry who had been ſo ſerviceable in the Revolution, and

who were both devoted to the Gironde party. Nevertheleſs, the prevailing opinion was, that any decree inviting them to remain in office would leſſen their reſponſibility, and commit the Majeſty of the People. "Woe be to thoſe nations that are grateful," exclaimed one of the ſpeakers; "gratitude "has ever proved fatal to a people. It is "that which created Kings. Let us beware "then how we fall into ſuch enthuſiaſm, "ſuch idolatry, which is good for nothing "elſe than to plunge nations into ſlavery, "for there is but one ſtep betwixt ſlavery "and gratitude."

The Aſſembly, thus ſet right with reſpect to the dangers into which their gratitude was about to hurry them, paſſed without further heſitation to the order of the day.

This reſignation, which was very ſincere on the part of *Roland*, was a manœuvre which his wife had actually concerted with the Girondiſts, in order to add more influence and ſtability to his Miniſtry, by cauſing him to be addreſſed by the Aſſembly with an invitation to remain in it. This extraordinary woman, as ambitious as ſhe was ingenious, was too well

well acquainted with the incapacity of her huſband, and too much intereſted in concealing it, to wiſh him to riſk in one day's time by his inſignificance in the Aſſembly, the whole of that reputation which ſhe had taken ſo much pains to obtain for him, and which ſhe found there was no other way of preſerving, whilſt in the Miniſtry, than by continuing to write his letters, his proclamations, and his ſpeeches. She directly reſolved, therefore, that *Roland* ſhould immediately addreſs the Aſſembly in a long letter which ſhe dictated, and in which he ſignified that he withdrew his reſignation. And, inſtead of the flattering ſolicitation which ſhe had ſo much reckoned upon, ſhe urged as the ſole motive for *this generous ſacrifice*, the anxiety what the majority of the Convention had expreſſed upon the matter. *Their final determination*, ſaid *Roland* in his letter, *honours me, and impoſes new duties upon me. I perceive their full extent, and I meaſure it without dread. Their will is pronounced, and my ardour meets it. The courſe is cleared for me, and I ſet forward with a glorious eagerneſs. I continue in the Miniſtry—it is my duty to continue in it,*

it, ſince the vaſt majority of the Convention has declared its wiſh to that purpoſe. The deſire of the Repreſentatives of 83 *Departments is a new law, and far above the inclination hitherto ſo ambiguous of the electors of a ſingle one.*

This letter, in which the Miniſter repeated with energy all the declamatory invectives of the Girondiſts againſt the Dictatorſhip, and againſt all thoſe flaming patriots who miſtook their paſſions for virtues, was heard with extacy: the reading of it was often interrupted with univerſal plaudits; and the Aſſembly ordered it to be printed, and to be ſent to the 83 Departments.

The Miniſter *Servan*, whoſe health was really in a very precarious ſtate, perſiſted in his reſignation *.

The debates relative to the reſignation of the Miniſters were interrupted by a denunciation, made without any reaſon, and at a venture, againſt the former Marquis *de Monteſquiou*, who was not ſo well known under the ancient ſyſtem for his military talents as for his wit and immorality, the deranged ſtate of his affairs, and his volumi-

* *Pache* was elected in his ſtead the 3d of October.

nous

nous genealogy. His conduct and his Revolutionary principles procured for him the command of the army of the South, with which he was to conquer Savoy. *Tallien* and *Chabot* pretended that this General's conduct was ambiguous and ſuſpicious, and that it was highly neceſſary it ſhould be looked into by ſome Commiſſioners, who would not heſitate to deprive him of a ſtation which he was incapable of filling. *Danton* affirmed that the Miniſters were of the ſame opinion, that the order of diſmiſſion was already entered in the regiſters of the Council, and that it was time to iſſue it. *We muſt ſhow that we are to be feared*, ſaid he; *a part of our character requiſite to ſupport liberty.* The diſmiſſion of M. *de Monteſquiou* was accordingly decreed with acclamation. Whilſt the Aſſembly were framing this decree, and almoſt in as ſhort a time, the General completed the conqueſt of all Savoy, which the Sardinian troops evacuated with ſo much rapidity, that the French army was not able to make a ſingle priſoner. All the ammunition, proviſions, forage, and baggage, with the arms and army cheſt, were abandoned without the leaſt reſiſtance to the conqueror. The General,

neral, in the account which he wrote of his ſucceſs, obtained without the ſmalleſt effuſion of blood on either ſide, announced that the minds of the people were diſpoſed towards a Revolution ſimilar to ours; that they already talked of propoſing to France to form Savoy into an 84th Department, or at leaſt to convert it into a Republic under its protection. The Aſſembly, tranſported with joy at the receipt of this news, were at firſt deſirous of revoking the decree by which they had diſmiſſed the General; but went no farther than to ſuſpend the execution of it until the report of the Commiſſioners who had been ſent into Savoy ſhould arrive. M. *de Monteſquiou* knew nothing of his diſmiſſion till he ſaw it in the news-papers. He then inſtantly ſent in his reſignation to the Aſſembly by a letter couched in ſuch patriotic terms, that the revocation of the decree was once more propoſed; but the reſolution was adjourned, both with reference to the decree and the reſignation. The report of the Commiſſioners which arrived a few days after, fully vindicated the General's conduct, and reſtored him to the entire confidence of the Aſſembly, ſo that the decree by which he had been diſmiſſed was unanimouſly revoked.

The conqueſt of Savoy, the taking of Spire and Worms by General *Cuſtine*, and the retreat of the combined forces, almoſt entirely diſſipated the alarm which the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s entry into Champagne and the approach of the Hulans had ſpread throughout the Capital. Liſle was beſieged, but with a force ſo inadequate to what ſuch an enterpriſe required, that it afforded no cauſe for uneaſineſs*. Beſides, *Dumourier* moved thither with a part of his army, and it was not doubted but that the Auſtrians informed of his march would raiſe the ſiege before he could come up. The Aſſembly, thus at eaſe with regard to the endeavours of the enemy from without, ſhook off the yoke of the Commune of Paris, and received with complacency ſeveral denunciations which accuſed that Commune not only of diſobedience to the laws, of uſurpation and abuſe of Power, but even of the forcible ſeizure of the magazines, and of numberleſs inſtances of robbery and plunder. To theſe reproaches the Commune oppoſed falſe pretexts, recriminations, and their popularity, which they endeavoured to

* The beſieging army amounted to about 22,000 men.

keep

keep up by every poſſible means, and particularly by redoubling their barbarity towards the auguſt priſoners in the Temple, whoſe guard was placed under their peculiar inſpection and reſponſibility. They reſolved on the 29th of September that the King ſhould be ſeparated from his family, and be removed immediately into the great tower of the Temple; that the Municipal officers of the guard ſhould be alone entruſted with the keys of his apartment, and that the citizens of the National Guard ſhould nôt have power to enter it but at the expreſs requiſition of three Municipal officers. They at the ſame time appointed Commiſſioners, to whom authority was given to take away from the King, and from his family, and even from the valet-de-chambre who waited upon them, pen, ink, paper, pencil, and all ſorts of ſharp inſtruments. Their Majeſties ſubmitted to all theſe indignities without a murmur*. But that fatal night in which the King was forced from his family to be removed to another priſon, which placed him at a diſtance from them, and ſeparated them perhaps for ever, preſented a ſcene of miſery

* See *Clery*'s Journal, page 68.

the moſt heart-rending which the imagination can conceive.

The period in which the Aſſembly might be enabled to render themſelves popular by ſuch atrocious conduct towards the King not being yet arrived, they filled up the interval with freſh acts of rigour againſt the Eccleſiaſtics who were not provided for, and againſt the Emigrants. As the forerunner of the ſuppreſſion of the allowance granted by the Conſtituent Aſſembly to the former, they decreed that no more ſhould be paid in advance, and that the maximum of thoſe ſtipends ſhould be reduced to 1000 livres a year. The Legiſlative Body before they ſeparated had decreed, that the parents of Emigrants ſhould be bound to furniſh every year in advance, to the end of the war, clothing, arms, and pay for two men, for each of their children emigrated. The Convention decreed on the 30th of September, that all bankers, merchants, notaries, payers of rents, companies of finance, and others who might hold in truſt funds or titles belonging to the Emigrants, ſhould be obliged, within twenty-four hours to make a declaration before their reſpective Municipalities of the nature and amount of the ſums,

ſums, effects, or goods for which they were truſtees or accountable, and to veſt them within a fortnight in the public banks, which would afterwards tranſmit them in order to the Extraordinary Bank.

What an epoch! how replete with ignominy and horror! when injuſtice, cruelty, and the moſt heinous crimes afforded the only means in France to obtain and preſerve popular favour. To this we muſt add, that the voice of the nation was everywhere overpowered by that of the vileſt rabble, by brigands, and *Sans-culottes*, with whom the Jacobins had conſtituted themſelves, *the Sovereign People*.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Commune undertake to diſcover a Conſpiracy—They produce a Letter of M. de la Porte's— Evaſive Conduct of the Commune — Committee of Inſpection — Detection of their Evaſion—Merlin moves that the King be brought to Trial—Marat defends the Committee — The Aſſembly order the Commune to be ſuſpended— Plunder committed by the Commune— Dumourier arrives at Paris—His Speech to the Convention—Standard taken from the Emigrants preſented to the Convention—Collot D'Herbois' Speech to Dumourier—Motions and Addreſſes for the Death of the King—Temper of Parties —The Miniſters called upon for their Accounts—Motion reſpecting Money for Secret

Secret Services—The Faction attempt to procure a Repeal of the Decree which eſtabliſhed a Guard for the Convention—Danton and Marat attack Roland—Marat denounced—Memorial on the State of Paris—Robeſpierre endeavours to defend himſelf—Supported by Danton—Louvet's Speech againſt Robeſpierre—Diſpute between the Commune and Aſſembly reſpecting the Conduct of the Sections.

THE Commune of Paris and their Committee of Inſpection would have gained a complete triumph over the formidable attack made againſt them, if abuſe of power, arbitrary impriſonments, and maſſacres only had been laid to their charge. The real or imaginary intereſts of the Revolution and of liberty would have ſanctioned or have gone a great way towards excuſing ſuch crimes in the eyes of a delirious multitude; but the embezzlement of a large ſhare of the jewels, plate, money, and aſſignats ſeized in the Royal habitations and in the houſes of thoſe ſuſpicious perſons who had been arreſted, was a very different concern. The Commune ſet up but a very

weak defence againſt this accuſation of embezzlements, amounting, according to valuation, to more than twelve millions of livres. A general cry prevailed for demanding their accounts; they gave for anſwer, that they could not bring them forward until they ſhould have received the returns of all thoſe Members whom they had appointed to manage the ſeizure, ſequeſtration, and depoſit of all the effects condemned. This evaſive or at all events dilatory mode of meeting the demand made upon them gave a colour to the reproaches thrown out againſt the Commune, and moſt opportunely proved a very ſerious blow to their popularity*. It was in conſequence of this that the

* Although the overthrow and plunder of all ſorts of property conſtituted at once the eſſential deſign, the baſis, and the principal means of the Revolution, ſuch acts of injuſtice and forcible ſeizure as theſe, which, whilſt they were carried on upon a large ſcale in the name and for the profit of the nation, were always ſure to meet with the moſt extravagant praiſe from a people ſo milled, were no ſooner converted to the purpoſe of robbery and private pilfering, than they found in that very people the moſt implacable judges. The brigands themſelves, amidſt all their moſt atrocious outrages, even whilſt taken up with the burning and pillaging of palaces, houſes,

the cruel decree by which they had determined to ſeparate the King from his Family, was not put into execution; and their Majeſties continued to meet at their uſual hours of meals, and at their time of walking in the garden of the Temple *.

The Commune's Committee of Inſpection no doubt flattering themſelves that by ſome bold ſtroke they might be able to divert the public attention from the important and heavy charges which had been drawn up againſt them, announced in the Sitting of the 27th of September, that, firm in conſcious rectitude, the Members of the Committee had ſought all poſſible means of counteracting every ſecret ſcheme, and bringing every dark conſpiracy to the light; that they were moreover in poſſeſſion of a ſufficient clue to prove the treaſon of the principal conſpirators, whom they would alſo make known; and that they had been confidently informed of ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly being of the number. The

houſes, &c. puniſhed thoſe amongſt their comrades, who were detected in ſtealing any of the effects, in the moſt ſummary and rigorous manner.

* Vid. *Clery*'s Journal, page 76.

day

day on which this important plot was to be developed, was expected with much impatience, not unmixed with anxiety, by the Aſſembly, and with curioſity by the rational part of the Public, who deſpiſing alike the accuſers and the accuſed, were nevertheleſs intereſted in finding out which of the two parties was the moſt iniquitous, in order to be more completely upon their guard againſt its machinations. The deputation of the Committee of Inſpection who were to make this much-talked-of denunciation, preſented themſelves at the Bar of the National Convention on the 1ſt of October. "We come," ſaid the ſpeaker, "to fulfil "the engagement which we entered into of "unmaſking certain traitors and our calumniators. They may ſtill be able to miſlead ſome uninformed citizens; they may "ſtill have it in their power to withhold "ſome important papers. The Convention, however, will now perceive with "what baſeneſs and treaſonable practice "ſuch men have made a trade of the people's intereſts." He then read a letter from M. *de la Porte*, addreſſed to the Treaſurer of the Civil Liſt, and which was found in one of his portfolios. This letter, dated

dated 3d of February 1792, is of ſo much the more importance, from its having ſerved as a ground for one of the heads of accuſation in the trial of the King. It was conceived in theſe terms: *The ſubject of theſe penſions will be laid before the Aſſembly this morning; we are aſſured that the report of the Committee will paſs. It is in agitation to liquidate all the penſions of the military eſtabliſhment of the King: it is calculated that this arrangement will diſcharge at leaſt four-fifths of the demands upon the Civil Liſt; but this coſts dear. The King has ordered me to require of you* 1,500,000 *livres againſt to-morrow; I very much fear that ſo large a payment will exhauſt your fund, but it is abſolutely neceſſary.* "We will give you," ſaid the ſpeaker, "a liſt of the diſtribution of this "ſum, and of many others."

The galleries, which the Commune had taken care to ſtrengthen in their favour by filling them with their friends, ſent forth the livelieſt plaudits when this liſt was announced. Their ferocious diſpoſition anticipated a new liſt of proſcriptions, and already taſted the ſweets in imagination.

The

The Aſſembly expreſſed as much indignation as was thought neceſſary to make it believed that they had a conſcientious ſenſe of their own incorruptible integrity. "It is neceſſary," exclaimed one of the Members, "that this liſt be made known "immediately, and that at the ſame time "the barriers be ſhut." The deputation anſwered, that as yet they had it not in their power to give in the liſt; but that the Committee had taken the neceſſary meaſures to prevent thoſe perſons, whoſe deſigns they had fruſtrated, from eſcaping the puniſhment of the law. This was in fact to declare that they knew who theſe perſons were, and therefore they muſt of courſe have had it in their power to mention their names; theſe were peremptorily demanded, but the deputation obſerved, that in a matter of ſo much importance they ought not to allow themſelves to advance a ſingle fact, without adducing its proof at the ſame time; that all the documents alſo from which the liſt required muſt be framed, were contained in thirty-two boxes entruſted to the care of the Committee of Inſpection; but that it had been found neceſſary for the purpoſe of collecting

lecting theſe ſeveral documents, that the ſeal which had been placed upon their office deſks ſhould be taken off.

Thoſe Deputies who had been Members of the Committee of Liquidation, being evidently implicated in this denunciation, very much invalidated it, by giving an account of all that had paſſed relative to the penſions with which the Civil Liſt was charged. It appeared from their recital, that the Comptroller of this Liſt having rejected all the penſions of the King's military eſtabliſhment, the Director of Liquidation refuſed to pay them, and reported his refuſal to the Committee, who approved of what he had done; that in conſequence of repeated ſolicitations on the part of the Comptroller, the liquidating Commiſſioner had conſulted the Aſſembly, who ſent him back to the Committee, where the Comptroller's demand underwent a freſh diſcuſſion, and was thrown out in a Sitting conſiſting of twenty-two Members; but that ſome time after the ſame queſtion having been brought before the Committee at one o'clock in the morning, when only five Commiſſioners were remaining, it was carried by a majority of four to one: that the Commiſſioner, however,

however, who was ordered to acquaint the Aſſembly with this event, in conſequence of the repreſentations of his colleagues, reſolved to have nothing to do with it; and finally, that no decree contrary to the two former deciſions of the Committee had been paſſed; whence it followed of courſe that this pretended liſt of a diſtribution of money which never could have taken place, was altogether an impoſition, or at leaſt chimerical.

Theſe arguments carried much weight with them; and all that the deputation oppoſed to them was a bundle of papers, containing one receipt from the Marquis *de Bouillé* for a ſum of 930,000 livres, which he had received at the time of the King's departure for Varennes; and three others, amounting together to 30,000 livres, expended for the publication of three different Journals, amongſt which was the *Logographe*. Theſe expenditures, thus aukwardly adduced in ſupport of a denunciation to which they had no ſort of reference whatever, cauſed many to ſuſpect it as a mere trick and calumny; words which were diſtinctly heard amidſt the murmurs that burſt forth againſt the Commune's Committee

mittee of Inſpection. *Tallien*, *Marat*, and *Chabot*, eagerly proceeded to defend the charge; and upon this occaſion it was that *Merlin*, one of the moſt abandoned villains in the whole of this Aſſembly, audaciouſly ſtepped forward the firſt to move the accuſation, trial, and condemnation of the King. "The city's Committee of Inſpection," ſaid he, "are daily engaged with trials, "becauſe they are in poſſeſſion of papers "on which the trials of ſeveral infamous "characters are grounded. It is at length "time that the Convention, after having "decreed the abolition of Royalty, ſhould "ſhow to the world that a dethroned King "is not even a citizen; that he deſerves to "fall beneath the vengeance of the nation, "and that all thoſe who have ſhared his "crimes ought to ſhare his fate, and follow "him to the ſcaffold. Why then any fur-"ther delay? The proofs of his treaſons, "and of thoſe of his agents, are in the "hands of the Committee of Inſpection; "I move, therefore, that the wretch thus "publicly branded with guilt, whoſe wiſh "it was to ſhed in ſtreams the people's "blood, be brought to trial before you. "The Convention ought to conſtitute both "his

" his accuſers and his judges." Theſe words, theſe execrable blaſphemies, which at this day it is impoſſible for us to call to mind without feeling the blood run cold with horror through our veins, were received with the warmeſt applauſe, not only by the galleries, but by the Aſſembly themſelves; by that Regicide Convention who thus voted for the death of *Louis* XVI. as it were by anticipation, without having brought him to trial, without knowing what they could accuſe him of. Nothing, however, followed at this time from *Merlin*'s motion, and the Aſſembly reſuming the denunciation of the Committee of Inſpection, decreed, that an extraordinary Commiſſion, conſiſting of twenty-four Members of the Convention, choſen from among thoſe who had not been Members of the Conſtituent Aſſembly or of the Legiſlative Body, and who did not belong to the deputation of Paris, ſhould repair immediately to the Mayor's houſe, where were depoſited all the papers collected by the Committee of Inſpection, and ſhould ſeal and counterſign all the boxes containing them; that all theſe papers ſhould have their contents endorſed, and be marked by two of the Commiſſioners of the Convention,

tion, in the preſence of two Members of the Committee of Inſpection, and two Municipal Officers; and an inventory of the whole being briefly drawn up, ſhould be replaced in the boxes, which ſhould be ſealed and counterſigned anew, in order to be brought one after the other to the Hall of the Convention, where they ſhould remain under the guard of four of their Commiſſioners, two of the Members of the Committee of Inſpection, and two Municipal Officers.

All this formidable preparation had no other purpoſe in view than to attach great importance to the place of depoſit, in order to give more weight to all thoſe proofs which it was hoped would be found in it. All ſearch, however, was in vain, for none were found there to ſubſtantiate the facts denounced by this Committee; and the Commiſſioners who were ordered to examine the papers contained in this depoſit, made a declaration—"That having done ſo, they "were convinced, from the reſult, that "thoſe who had made the denunciations "were calumniators; that the Members of "the Committee of Inſpection, when re-"quired by them to point out or deſcribe

" ſuch papers as might corroborate their " denunciations, had put into their hands " only letters of inſignificant purport; that " all the interrogatories which had been put " to the accuſed had only ſerved to prove " the calumny and abominable malice of " the Members belonging to the Commit- " tee of Inſpection; that they had alſo met " with papers which proved the innocence " of many good citizens who had been " maſſacred in the priſons, where they had " been ſent in conſequence of writs of ar- " reſt, in which their names had been in- " ſerted through miſtakes made by the " Members of the Committee." Theſe Commiſſioners likewiſe announced, that in this depoſit they had diſcovered many clear and material proofs of the ſecret deſigns of the King; but that with reſpect to this matter they could not promiſe themſelves to be able to make any report to the Aſſembly worthy of its attention, before the expiration of three or four months.

Theſe aſſertions, confirmed by the teſtimony of all the Commiſſioners, produced a general ſentiment of indignation throughout the Aſſembly, and completely ſilenced the advocates of the Committee of the Commune.

mune. *Marat* alone ventured to ſpeak in their behalf. He pretended that the firſt part of this examination had been gone through by the Commiſſioners in too haſty and ſuperficial a manner to render their aſſertions worthy of any confidence; and that the Aſſembly could not give any judgment upon the ſubject until all the papers had undergone the ſtricteſt inveſtigation. "I "have already told you," added he, "that "with regard to my political views, my "way of judging, my ideas of things, I "am above your decrees. You ſhall "never make me pretend to ſee what "I really do not ſee; neither ſhall you "make me ſhut my eyes againſt what ſtares "me in the face. No, you are not poſ-"ſeſſed of the power of hindering a man "of genius from penetrating into futurity: "you do not rightly appreciate the man of "intelligence, who knows the world, who "looks beyond preſent events. What for-"ſooth! you would demand written proofs "of the plots of a perfidious Court! You "are not aware, that by doing ſo you treat "political matters with as much tedious "preciſeneſs as pleaders. What would

" have become of you if I had not for a " long time prepared the public opinion ?" No other anſwer was made to all this but hootings and continued burſts of laughter. He was looked upon as a madman, too ridiculous and contemptible to be dangerous.

Some Sections of the Capital ſeized the opportunity which this affair afforded them to lay before the Aſſembly freſh complaints againſt the Members of the Commune, and demanded the prompt execution of the ſeveral decrees which had ordained that they ſhould be ſuperſeded. Orders to this effect were again iſſued by the Convention, but the tardineſs with which the requiſite forms were gone through, furniſhed this body of villains with ſufficient means to ſpin out their guilty exiſtence for two months longer. The Aſſembly, it is true, ſpared no pains to ſtrip them of that cloak of patriotiſm with which they had diſguiſed the turpitude of their deſigns * : but not all the atrocious crimes

* They gave inſtructions to their Committee of General Safety to have a liſt made of all the arreſts iſſued ſince the maſſacres of the 2d and 3d of September, and to cauſe to be laid before them all papers tending either to

crimes, numerous as they were, with which they were polluted, could render them unpopular with any other part of the community than with thoſe that were too virtuous to reliſh them, and this claſs, however extenſive it might be, had from the commencement of the Revolution, all along proved itſelf the weaker, and the less dexterous. The Commune, therefore, continued to preſerve their influence over thoſe brigands with which Paris was crowded, and, under the direction of *Robeſpierre*, made uſe of them for the double purpoſe of keeping up a conſtant ferment through the Capital, but in the ſuburbs eſpecially, and of nouriſhing thoſe ſanguinary diſpoſitions ſo indiſpenſable to the ſucceſs of the horrid enterpriſe which the mind of that monſter had been long brooding.

As ſoon as the power and reſentment of this Commune grew leſs formidable, and ſome hope could be formed of bringing their vexatious extortions to juſtice, de-

to juſtify or criminate thoſe who were in cuſtody, and, finally, to make a report of the whole to the Convention. This proceſs developed an infinite number of the moſt ſhocking acts of injuſtice and abuſe of power.

nunciations poured in from all quarters, ſome addreſſed to the Miniſters, ſome to the Convention, and all diſcovering innumerable inſtances of very conſiderable robberies in money, aſſignats, and plate, in coſtly diamonds, and other jewels, ſuch as could not be bought; a valuation, amounting to more than twelve millions of livres, was made of thoſe effects, of which a ſtatement had been made, but the value of thoſe which the Commiſſioners who had been employed in arreſts and domiciliary viſits had ſecreted without giving any account at all of them, was beyond calculation. If to the produce of all theſe robberies, of that of the Garde-meuble, and of many others of the ſame nature, we add the peculation derived from the enormous waſte of the public funds*, we ſhall ceaſe to wonder that ſo many individuals made rapid fortunes at this time, who, before the Revolution, had no other means of getting a livelihood than what aroſe from their daily

* The *Citizen Amelot*, the former Intendant of Burgundy, whom nothing could put out of humour with his office of *Treaſurer of the Extraordinary Bank*, announced to the Aſſembly, in the Sitting of the 6th of October, that the expenditure for the month of September amounted to 200 millions of livres.

labour

labour or their pilfering. Never will I ceaſe to declare, and to repeat over and over again, to the diſgrace of the Revolution, and to prevent the odium of all its flagitious crimes from being thrown upon the nation in general, that theſe infamous beings were the very men, who, uſurping all the public powers on the night between the 9th and 10th of Auguſt, conſtituted themſelves the *Commune of Paris*, urged on the brigands to inſurrection, led them to the attack of the Palace, terrified the Aſſembly into the proviſional ſuſpenſion of the King, forced them to revoke the decree which ordered *Louis* XVI. and his family to be lodged in the *Palais of the Luxembourg*, converted the towers of the Temple into priſons, and ſhut up their Majeſties in them, although no decree had commanded their impriſonment: theſe were they who enforced the domiciliary viſits, the arbitrary arreſts, the maſſacre of the priſoners, and who called upon all the Municipalities of the kingdom to follow their example; theſe, I ſay, were the men, who, forming the faction of *Robeſpierre*, not only in the Commune, but in the Aſſembly of Jacobins, and in all the Revolutionary Clubs, brought about the

abolition of Royalty and the trial of the King, declaring themſelves at once his accuſers and judges; and in the end, through the conſternation with which their menaces and daggers filled every heart, induced the majority of the Convention to vote for the death of *Louis* XVI. — and theſe wiſhed to paſs for Republicans! for patriots! *The Sovereign People, the Republic, the nation*, were terms which they were inceſſantly repeating. Wretches!—no other object had they in view than to ſecure the fruit of their rapine in keeping up the Revolution, which they had ſerved by their crimes alone, and in preventing the reſtoration of a government, the re-eſtabliſhment of which muſt have proved their inevitable ruin.

In the midſt of the debates occaſioned by the meaſures taken for the diſcovery of the ſeveral inſtances of robbery and waſte committed by the Commune of Paris, and to put a ſtop to the progreſs of them, intelligence was brought to the Convention that *Dumourier*, having left his colleague *Kellerman* purſuing and haraſſing the Pruſſian army with 40,000 men, had himſelf marched with an equal number to the relief of the Departments

Departments of the North, and that in two days time he would be at Paris, for the purpoſe of ſettling with the Executive Power the plan of the winter campaign, which he was about to enter upon, and likewiſe to pay his duteous reſpects to the *Auguſt Aſſembly**. He preſented himſelf at the Bar on the 12th of October, accompanied by ſeveral officers of his Staff. The moment he appeared the loudeſt acclamations of applauſe reſounded throughout the Aſſembly, and continued for many minutes. "Everywhere does liberty triumph," ſaid he; "with Philoſophy for her guide ſhe will "traverſe the world; and, cruſhing all deſ-"potiſm, enlightening every people, ſhe "will ſeat herſelf on all Thrones. Thoſe "Conſtitutional laws, in the framing of "which you are engaged, ſhall form the "baſis whereon will reſt the happineſs "and fraternity of nations. The preſent "war ſhall be the laſt in which you will be "engaged, while tyrants and privileged "deſpots, at length deceived in their guilty

* Such was the lofty title he gave this Aſſembly in a letter written by him on the 9th of October to the *Citizen Preſident*.

hopes,

" hopes, ſhall alone become the victims of " this conteſt between arbitrary power and " reaſon. The army which the confidence " of the nation entruſted to my conduct " has deſerved well of its country: reduced " as it was when I joined it on the 28th of " Auguſt to 17,000 men, diſorganized alſo " by traitors whom chaſtiſement and ſhame " everywhere purſue, it has neither ſhrunk " before numbers nor diſcipline, before " the threats, the cruelties, nor the firſt " ſucceſſes of 80,000 ſatellites of deſpo- " tiſm. The defiles of the foreſt of Ar- " gonne proved a ſecond Thermopylæ to a " handful of our ſoldiers of liberty, who, " by their valiant reſiſtance for fifteen days " together, ſtruck an awe into this formid- " able body. More fortunate than the " Spartans, we were ſuccoured by two " armies animated with the ſame ſpirit as " ourſelves, and with whom we are united in " the impregnable camp of St. Menehould. " From the ſongs and joyful ſhouts of our " ſoldiers, you would have taken this terri- " ble camp for one of thoſe camps of " pleaſure in which the luxury of Kings " was uſed to aſſemble their automaton re- " giments to amuſe their miſtreſſes and de-

" light their children. With us, the hope " of conqueſt induced the ſoldier, thus de- " voted to the cauſe of freedom, to bear up " againſt all difficulties. Never have I " heard a ſingle murmur; and the diſci- " pline, the fatigues, the privations of our " troops, have all at laſt met with their " reward. The enemy have ſunk under " hunger, miſery, and diſeaſe. Their nu- " merous bands, diminiſhed to half their " original amount, have taken themſelves to " flight; whilſt the dead bodies of their " men and horſes alternately mark their " route. I was impatient to pay my duteous " reſpects to you. I will bind my pro- " feſſions by no freſh oaths, but I will " prove myſelf worthy of commanding " the ſons of Liberty, and of ſupporting " thoſe laws which the Sovereign People, " through you, are about to preſcribe to " themſelves."

As ſoon as the General had finiſhed his harangue, the plaudits of the Aſſembly and ſpectators were reiterated and prolonged with equal accord. The Preſident in his anſwer paid him many high compliments, talked much of the laurels of victory, although the victor had not been engaged

engaged in a ſingle battle, and concluded by inviting him to the honours of the Sitting*. He had proved himſelf truly deſerving of ſuch honours; but the Aſſembly was not ſo much bound in gratitude to him as to that miſery, that famine, that diſeaſe, which had deſtroyed half the Pruſſian army, and conſtrained it to retreat.

An Adjutant-General belonging to *Dumourier's* Staff next ſpoke, and preſented to the Aſſembly a ſtandard which had been taken from one of the Emigrant corps. This homage, and the bombaſt of the Adjutant which accompanied it, were received with conſiderable applauſe. "You have," exclaimed *Vergniaux*, "ſuſpended from the "roof of this Hall thoſe enſigns which "your triumphs over deſpotiſm have poſ-"ſeſſed you of, and ſuch trophies are pro-"per decorations for the ſeat of your coun-"ſels; but as to this, the ſtandard of re-"bellion, around which brigands and "*aſſaſſins*, whom you have doomed to die

* On entering the hall he depoſited his *Croix-de St. Louis* upon the table; *Lieutenant-General Moreton de Chabrillant*, who accompanied him, did the ſame, and three days after, the Aſſembly decreed the ſuppreſſion of this military decoration.

on

" on the ſcaffold*, have rallied and fought,
" it is fit that, like them, it ſhould be de-
" moliſhed by the hand of the executioner.
" I move that, after having beſtowed our
" tribute of applauſe upon the courage of
" our brave brethren in arms, you give
" orders that this enſign of revolt be de-
" livered up to the hangman to be burned."

The Aſſembly unanimouſly adopted this motion. Theſe furious demagogues, miſtaking the moſt ſhameleſs inſolence for greatneſs of ſoul, and a ſavage fierceneſs for energy; conceived alſo in their delirium that Republicaniſm conſiſted principally in accuſing *Louis* XVI. of treaſon, tyranny, and cruelty, and in heaping the groſſeſt indignities upon the Princes and the Emigrants.

During the ſtay which *Dumourier* made at Paris he did not fail to pay a fraternal viſit to the Jacobin Club, and after laviſhing upon

* It had been decreed that all Emigrants taken in arms ſhould ſuffer death. The Convention enacted that they ſhould be tried and executed within twenty-four hours after arreſt. A decree was alſo paſſed, that all Emigrants were baniſhed from the territory of the Republic for ever, and that thoſe who ſhould enter it ſhould be put to death.

them all that mean flattery, for which he was remarkable, told them that he hoped by the end of the month to have 60,000 men under his command, with which he might attack Kings and deliver nations from their bondage. *Danton*, who that day ſat as Preſident, anſwered his worthy comrade, by aſſuring him, that he had already deſerved well of his country, in not having deſpaired of its ſafety when *Fayette*, that *eunuch of the Revolution*, had fled. "You have "ſince," added he, "preſerved with much "addreſs that poſition which has ruined the "enemy. A ſtill bolder career awaits you! "May the pike of the people break the "ſceptre of Kings, and may all crowned "heads fall before that cap of liberty with "which the ſociety has honoured you. "Afterwards, come again among us, and "your name ſhall adorn the faireſt pages of "our hiſtory."

The Player-legiſlator, *Collot D'Herbois*, addreſſed the General in a long harangue from the Tribune, every ſentence of which was interrupted by the livelieſt plaudits, and all the Journals publiſhed it as a maſter-piece of Republican eloquence. *Dumourier*, the triumphing *Dumourier*, had truly done nothing

nothing more than what was to have been expected from a worthy Jacobin. He addreſſed not to him the language of eulogium. "*Dumourier* has done his duty," ſaid he, "that is his nobleſt reward: this "is the language to which we muſt accuſ- "tom ourſelves. Say, General, is it not "true, that to command a Republican army "is a glorious taſk? What a vaſt difference "muſt you have found between ſuch an "army and the troops of deſpotiſm?" He then went on to warn him that he would be calumniated, but that he ought to imitate the example of *Themiſtocles*, who, after having ſaved the Greeks at the battle of Salamis, had been made the victim of calumny, and unjuſtly puniſhed; yet did not he forego his fidelity to his country. He exhorted him never to enter into any compromiſe with tyrants; and called to his recollection the example of *Scipio*, in the anſwer which he gave to *Antiochus*, who made certain propoſals to him with a view to ſhake his fidelity: "Not all the riches which you poſſeſs "could buy my conſcience, nor is there in "nature a more exalted poſſeſſion than that "which the love of one's country beſtows." He ſpoke afterwards of the different towns through

through which he was to paſs, and of the line of conduct which he ought to purſue with reſpect to each. " You are going to " Bruſſels, *Dumourier*, you are going to " Courtray; there the French name has been " outraged, a General has deceived the " people's hopes. The traitor *Jarry* ſet " fire to their houſes: hitherto I have " addreſſed myſelf to your courage only, I " now ſpeak to your heart; be mindful of " thoſe wretched inhabitants of Courtray; " let not their hopes be a ſecond time de- " ceived; promiſe them the juſtice of your " nation, that nation will not betray your " promiſe. When you arrive at Bruxelles, " —but I need not inſtruct you upon this " point. If, however, you ſhould there " find an accurſed woman (*the Arch-* " *ducheſs*), but ſuch a woman as ſhe is " will not ſtop for your arrival; if you meet " her, I ſay, ſhe is your priſoner; we have " others in cuſtody who are of her family. " At Bruſſels liberty ſhall revive under your " auſpices. You will there reſtore children " to their parents, wives to their huſbands: " ſons, citizens, daughters, wives, all in " their turn, ſhall crowd around you, all

" embrace

" embrace you as their common father. " What felicity awaits your enjoyment, " *Dumourier!* My wife—ſhe alſo is at " Bruſſels; ſhe ſhall join in the general " embrace."

This peroration, delivered with all the tone of an actor, was heard with ecſtaſy. *It appears*, ſaid the Moniteur, in the account which it gave of this Sitting, *that flattery did not diſgrace this fraternal viſit. Dumourier was received with pleaſure, but without enthuſiaſm. It is thus that amongſt a people truly Republican, a rational intelligence grants to merit the tribute of auſtere reſpect, and knows how to encourage thoſe citizens who have deſerved well of their country.*

Dumourier alſo, in the abundance of his good nature, went with *Santerre* to the Section of the Lombards, to conſole them, and to remove from their minds all apprehenſion with regard to the conduct of the battalion which they had ſent out to the army. The General ſpoke of them in the moſt puffing terms, and ſaid that he had ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied, that he had placed them in the poſt of honour. *I hope*, added he, *that your brethren in arms will have*

the glory of being the firſt to enter Brabant; I eſteem them as my friends and my children. A ſubſcription was immediately entered into to furniſh and tranſmit to this battalion whatever neceſſaries they might require for this important expedition; and *Dumourier* put down his name for 200 livres, which he placed upon the table with theſe words: *My friends, my brethren, my children, for I am not young, ſuffer me to embrace this whole Aſſembly in the perſon of the Preſident.* How generous, how endearing an inſtance of popularity was here ſhown!

Whilſt *Dumourier* was concerting with the Executive Council the plan for the conqueſt of Brabant, news arrived of the reduction of Verdun, and a few days after of the capitulation of Longwy. The ſiege of Liſle alſo was raiſed; and thus the French armies proceeded to act upon the offenſive again in every quarter. The continuation of the works in the camp of Paris was then conſidered as an uſeleſs expence, and the Aſſembly decreed that a ſtop ſhould be put to them; but thoſe Members whoſe vehemence diſmay had hitherto withheld from taking any poſitive ſide, no longer

preſerved

preſerved any reſtraint: men who had never opened their mouths in the Aſſembly became the firſt to demand the trial and execution of the King, *as a great act of juſtice, loudly called for from all parts of the Republic* *; "*If*," ſaid the infamous and ignorant *Bourbotte* in the Sitting of the 16th of October—"*If there be any one here who* "*is of opinion that the priſoners in the* "*Temple ought not to ſuffer death, let him* "*aſcend the Tribune, and ſpeak in their* "*defence. For my own part, I demand,* "*on the contrary, that they die.*" From that moment the ſame demand was renewed almoſt at every Sitting, ſometimes by the deputations of Sections, at others by addreſſes ſent from the Provinces, and more commonly by the motions of ſome Members of the Aſſembly. This ſavage impatience was ſo much the more ſhocking on their part, as the Commiſſioners charged with the examination of thoſe papers upon which it was intended to found the trial of

* It is a fact that the Jacobins cauſed ſeveral Regicide petitions to be preſented to the Aſſembly by their affiliated Clubs, and by the Municipalities, who were at their devotion.

Louis XVI. had a few days before declared that they ſhould not be able to give in any account of them for three or four months to come. The chiefs of the Regicide faction judged this delay neceſſary, to prepare the public opinion for the dreadful deed which they meditated, and to enſure to themſelves the majority of the Aſſembly, as yet too much divided by various animoſities of party for them to be able to withdraw them from their diſputes, and to calculate with ſufficient preciſion what number of votes they would have to depend upon in whatever motions might be made during the trial of the King. It already was plainly ſeen that the decree of accuſation would paſs without oppoſition; but there did not exiſt ſo much certainty reſpecting the definitive ſentence. The majority of the Gironde party, which was at that time the moſt numerous, did not wiſh for the death of *Louis* XVI. and would have contented themſelves with the ſentence of baniſhment or confinement; but in this very majority there was a conſiderable number of weak-minded perſons, whom the fear of being aſſaſſinated would carry over to which ever ſide they thought would be moſt likely

to

to place their perſons out of danger. There were alſo in the ſame party many deſperate wretches who attached themſelves to it from their hatred of *Robeſpierre* or *Marat*, but who were nevertheleſs as much diſpoſed as either of theſe to vote for the King's death. The faction decidedly Regicide conſiſted of the parties of *Robeſpierre*, *Marat*, *Danton*, and of the Commune of Paris; and was moreover, as I have before obſerved, powerfully ſupported by the populace, and by the workmen in the ſuburbs.

The policy of the Girondiſts, who were anxious to preſerve and conſolidate their influence, conſiſted in bringing all the ſeveral parties who oppoſed them into diſrepute, by daily renewing their denunciations againſt them. They had already ſo far ſucceeded with reſpect to *Marat*, as to cauſe all his former friends to glory in having abandoned him, and to ſpeak of him as a ſaturnine and ridiculous maniac; but he ſtill preſerved all his audacity in the Aſſembly, and all that ſway out of doors, which his inflammatory publications gave him over the mind of every brigand. The Commune of Paris, weakened in all parts, ſtill endeavoured to ſupport and defend themſelves. *Robeſpierre*,

although ſomewhat ſhaken by the firſt attack made upon him, which was of no trifling nature, was not however ſo much affected by it, as to be diſcouraged from making farther attempts; he ſecretly laboured to regain the credit he had loſt, and went on forming his party without any noiſe. In the Aſſembly he was ſilent; but he heard every thing, noted every thing, and nothing eſcaped him, whilſt his rage, thus concentrated, marked and reckoned up internally the number of its future victims. *Danton*, as much to be feared for his audacity, his ſavage principles, and the ſtrength of his lungs, as on account of his popularity, and that ſort of eloquence, or rather Revolutionary jargon, of which he poſſeſſed the talent to a conſiderable degree, drew upon himſelf the attention and animadverſion of the Girondiſts ſo much the more, as he was always ready to defend the Commune and *Robeſpierre*, and as he contributed more than any one elſe to turn aſide or weaken the force of the ſeveral blows which were aimed at both. It was therefore reſolved upon by this party, to find ſome cauſe or other ſufficiently ſerious whereon to ground a diſpute with him, in which he might commit

commit himſelf, and for fear of conſequences be induced to abandon one ſet of men whom he knew to be too weak to ſupport him, and to take refuge amongſt others who were powerful enough to work out his deſtruction. The following was the plan of this attack:

A few days after the fatal events of the 10th of Auguſt, the Legiſlative Body had placed 2,000,000 of livres in the hands of Miniſters to defray ſuch extraordinary and ſecret expences as the exigencies of the circumſtances might require. It was known that *Danton* had applied a great part of this money to his own uſe during his Miniſtry*; thus there was no doubt, that by making a demand upon the Executive Council for an account of thoſe ſums which had been expended in extraordinary or ſecret ſervice, this man would be placed in a very embarraſſing ſituation. It was decreed that this account ſhould be given in. The Miniſter of the Interior (*Roland*) eagerly conformed to the decree, and preſented a very regular

* He reſigned as Miniſter of Juſtice when he was appointed a Member of the Convention. *Garat* the younger ſucceeded him in the Miniſtry.

account of his ſhare of the expenditure; this amounted to about 40,000 livres, but not a ſingle article of it could be excepted againſt, and he had vouchers for the whole. The Aſſembly teſtified their approbation by long plaudits; and a motion, which was made at the ſame time, that all the other Miniſters ſhould give in their accounts in the like manner, met with an equal degree of applauſe.

The Miniſter of the Marine Department (*Monge*), who was preſent at this Sitting, announced that he had no account to preſent, becauſe he had not diſburſed any monies upon any extraordinary or ſecret occaſion. *Danton* pretended that the Executive Council had always conceived, from the decree of the Legiſlative Aſſembly, that they were only accountable generally; becauſe there had occurred ſo many expences, ſo many Revolutionary diſtributions for the advancement of liberty, which had made great ſacrifices of large ſums indiſpenſable, and which it would be impolitic to make public. That the Legiſlative Body had ſaid to their Miniſters, *Do not ſpare, but even be prodigal of your money where you find it neceſſary, if confidence can thereby be re-eſtabliſhed,*

eſtabliſhed, and one univerſal impulſe given to all France. Thoſe Miniſters, he added, had been forced to incur many extraordinary expences, for the greater part of which they had no legal acquittances. "Every "thing," ſaid he, "has been urgent; all "our buſineſs has been tranſacted in the "preſſure of the moment. You deſired "that Miniſters ſhould act together. We "have done ſo, and that ought to be our "diſcharge. If the Executive Council had "expended 10,000,000 more, not a ſingle "enemy would have eſcaped from the land "they had invaded." *Danton*, aware that the Aſſembly, by their violent murmurs, did not reliſh this expeditious mode of reckoning, concluded with moving that nothing ſhould be finally reſolved before the Miniſters had collectively made out an account of all that had been done in concert with each other. It was obſerved, that all monies expended for extraordinary or ſecret ſervice muſt have been entered in the regiſter of the Executive Council; or at leaſt that ſome memorandum of the account which Miniſters had been under the neceſſity of giving in to each other, muſt have been made in them; but *Roland* contended that theſe regiſters did

did not contain any thing relative to the ſecret ſervice money, and that he never had been preſent at any particular or mutual account which Miniſters had doubtleſsly ſubmitted to each other's inſpection. *Danton* avowed theſe facts. The debate grew extremely warm, and in the tumult the motion for paſſing to the order of the day being made, and not generally heard, was carried; but the Girondiſts loudly proteſting againſt ſuch a proceeding, cauſed the original ſubject to be debated over again. "I move for "a decree of accuſation," exclaimed *Camus*, "againſt thoſe Miniſters who have waſted "the finances of the State, or that they "prove, at all events, by exhibiting the "Council's Regiſters, that an account of "every one of their reſpective expendi-"tures has been received and approved." This motion, which, had it been adopted, muſt inevitably have placed *Danton* in a ſtate of accuſation, occaſioned ſtrong debates, which terminated in a decree, ordaining that the Executive Council ſhould, in the courſe of twenty-four hours, give their reaſons for not having taken a reſolution for the purpoſe of checking the accounts of money allowed for ſecret ſervice. The execution

execution of this decree being impracticable, there was no other reſource left for *Danton* by which he could get rid of it, than to endeavour, by ſome device or other, to divert the attention of the Aſſembly, and let it be forgotten; to this expedient he had immediate recourſe, and he ſucceeded in the following manner:

In the preceding chapters, it has been ſeen that the Convention, conſidering themſelves as a general body of truſt belonging equally to all the Departments, had decreed that theſe ſhould all equally contribute to the forming of a reſpectable public guard for their defence. The chief end which the Aſſembly had in view when this decree was made, was to place themſelves in greater ſafety from the popular inſurrections, which were ſo often excited for the purpoſe of *influencing* their deliberations, and of ſubjecting them to the deſpotic ſway of the Commune, who on their part had already employed every means in their power to get this decree revoked, but without effect. They, however, upon this occaſion renewed all their efforts to aſſiſt *Danton*, in whoſe ſupport they were greatly intereſted. At the very inſtant, therefore, when the Aſſembly

bly were expecting the Miniſters to arrive with the ſtatement which the decree paſſed the day before had ordained ſhould be laid before them, it was announced that Commiſſioners from the 48 Sections of Paris demanded to be admitted to the Bar. They were introduced, and addreſſed the Aſſembly in an harangue fraught with the moſt arrogant and ſeditious ſentiments; the following expreſſions will enable us to judge of it: "It has been propoſed amongſt you to place "yourſelves upon the level of tyrants, by "being encompaſſed with a ſelect guard. "The Sections of Paris, after having duly "eſtimated the value of thoſe principles "upon which reſts the ſovereignty of the "people, declare to you by us, that they "conſider this project as odious in itſelf, "and dangerous in its tendency. Who has "been ſo bold as to conjecture that the "people would ever give their conſent to "ſuch a decree? What! would any one "affect to propoſe Conſtitutional decrees "before the Conſtitution exiſts*. Wait "till

* This new Conſtitution was not yet begun; and at the beginning of this ſame Sitting the Aſſembly paſſed a decree

" till the law ſhall have a being. When " the people ſhall have ſanctioned it, by " their own example, they will teach you " to obey it: but, it is ſaid, Paris ſeems to " be deſirous of ſeparating itſelf from the reſt " of the Republic. Inſolent calumny! vain " pretext!—Paris effected the Revolution: " Paris has given freedom to the reſt of " France, and Paris will know how to " maintain it; there too, Legiſlators, dwell " thoſe men, who have fixed their eyes upon " your conduct, and now await your de- " ciſion."

This harangue was often interrupted by vehement murmurs. It was demanded on all ſides that the petitioners ſhould be called to order, and that they ſhould produce their powers. They immediately drew ſome papers from their pockets, and brandiſhed them over their heads. The galleries declared themſelves in favour of the deputation, and protected them by their plaudits. The Preſident at different times commanded

decree inviting all the friends of liberty and equality, to whatever nation they might belong, to tranſmit to them ſuch plans, remarks, and expedients as they might think the moſt requiſite to frame a perfect Conſtitution for the Republic of France.

ſilence,

ſilence, and threatened to order the guard to turn out all thoſe turbulent citizens who paid no reſpect to the regulations of the Aſſembly. At length, when the tumult had ſomewhat ſubſided, he gave the deputation for anſwer, that to the Aſſembly alone were entruſted all the rights of the Republic, as well as the exerciſe of the Sovereignty of the People; that the Aſſembly knew alſo how to defend them; that they would always receive with pleaſure the advice of good citizens, but that they never would be conſtrained to receive any other orders than what proceeded from the French nation. They nevertheleſs invited the deputies to the honours of the Sitting, and then without any heſitation rejected their petition by paſſing to the order of the day*.

* The conduct of the 48 Sections was diſavowed, and ſeverely blamed two days after by a deputation from the two Sections of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. "The "conquerors of the Baſtile," ſaid their ſpeaker, "the "eldeſt ſons of the Revolution are not the agents of "intrigue, neither are they like thoſe ambitious and "deceitful men who ſacrifice every conſideration to "their narrow paſſions; never will we confound "them with thoſe falſe patriots who conſpire againſt "the independence of the Republic, who would deſtroy "the laws, would wreſt from the Departments the "ſceptre

On the following days the Miniſters took care to addreſs ſo great a number of papers to the Convention, that the reading of them took up ſeveral Sittings. Amongſt the reſt were included the correſpondence of the Generals, the capitulations of Longwy, of Mayence, various letters and memoirs found in the portfolio of the Princes; theſe had fallen into the hands or *Kellerman*, and particularly the correſpondence of M. *Choiſeuil Gouffier*, the French Ambaſſador

" ſceptre of Sovereign Authority, and would become " the tyrants of the National Aſſembly. Let our " brethren of all the Departments come within theſe " walls, not for the purpoſe of defending you, but for " that of helping us to protect you; let them arrive " only in numbers of ſix, ſeven, eight, twenty-four " thouſand, but even of a million; our arms ſhall " always be open to them."

The concluding parts of this harangue referred to the revocation of martial law, and went ſo far as to ſuggeſt that the red flag ſhould be burnt in all the Departments. This petition was heard with the livelieſt enthuſiaſm. The Aſſembly, after having conferred their applauſe for a long while, gave inſtructions for its being printed and ſent to the 83 Departments, and decreed alſo that martial law ſhould ceaſe. (Sitting of the 21ſt of October 1792.) The Commune on their part reſolved that the petition of the 48 Sections ſhould be alſo printed and ſent to the 40,000 Municipalities.

to Conſtantinople, together with the inſtructions given by the Princes to Count *de Mouſtier* relative to the Regency, with his anſwer*. As ſoon as the Aſſembly had gone through the reading of theſe papers, they unanimouſly paſſed a decree of impeachment againſt M. M. *de Choiſeuil* and *de Mouſtier*.

Danton deteſted *Roland*, whoſe diſintereſted principles were a reſtraint upon him, whoſe popularity raiſed his jealouſy, and it was not his fault that this Miniſter did not make one of the victims in the maſſacres of the 23d of September. *Roland* was not ignorant of this, but he was incapable of avenging himſelf by the ſame means, even if they had been placed in his hands.' This man had neither a bad heart nor a factious ſpirit, but he was a ſenſeleſs enthuſiaſt in the cauſe of the Revolution; a fanatic Republican, whoſe brain had been turned by the flattery of the people; ſtill, however, he retained a certain ſhare of probity, and he carried the auſterity of his manners ſo far as to make himſelf the object of ridicule. *Danton*, on the other hand, was a ſhallow,

* See Appendix, No. XXXVII.

dauntleſs,

dauntleſs, and ferocious villain, in reality no more a Republican than a Royaliſt; his avarice was inſatiable, and, as he had no other means of feeding it but by the produce of his crimes, he became of courſe a zealous partizan of a Revolution which gave its ſanction to them all. Such was the quality of his patriotiſm. The diſpute concerning the ſecret expences had redoubled his hatred againſt *Roland*, whom he regarded as the cauſe of that diſpute, from the ſtrict form in which he had drawn up his account; but as that form had been univerſally approved of, and *Roland* was at the ſame time extolled to the ſkies by the people, and by the majority of the Aſſembly, he was too prudent to attack him perſonally, and contented himſelf for the preſent with letting *Marat* looſe upon him. This man made but very little ſcruple of defaming him in his Journal by the groſſeſt falſehoods; he denounced him in the Aſſembly as guilty of making an attempt upon the liberty of the citizens by *lettres de cachet*; and, by way of colour to this denunciation, he produced an order given by *Roland* himſelf for the arreſt of a woman accuſed of iſſuing falſe aſſignats. The Hall re-echoed with murmurs and cries

of indignation againſt *Marat*, and in the end he was himſelf denounced. A depoſition was read, which proved that he went out to meet ſome battalions of National Volunteers, who were arrived at Paris, and that he endeavoured to corrupt them and to excite them to revolt. He defended himſelf againſt this charge by aſſerting, that in meeting theſe Volunteers, he had no other deſign than that of making them ſome patriotic preſents. He was further accuſed of having ſaid, that before tranquillity could be reſtored 270,000 heads muſt be taken off, and he confeſſed that ſuch was his opinion. The Aſſembly referred theſe denunciations to the Committees of Inſpection and Legiſlation, and ordered them to give in their report without delay.

Thus were the Sittings of the National Convention conſumed in debates of this contemptible nature; but the object which both the Girondiſts and *Danton* had in view was equally fulfilled. No more was heard of the trial of the King than of the decree reſpecting the ſecret ſervice money; and *Danton* drew the notice of the Aſſembly upon himſelf for nothing elſe but his ſilence. One day, however, he ſeized an opportunity of

of cenſuring ſome murmurs which burſt out againſt a deputation of the Commune. The inſolence of three or four words which he uttered cauſed him to be called to order, and a Member inſtantly demanded that the Executive Power ſhould be deſired to declare whether, conformably to the decree of the Aſſembly of the 18th of October, every Miniſter had delivered an account of the employment of thoſe ſums which had been appropriated to the extraordinary and ſecret ſervices. "If it muſt be ſo," exclaimed *Danton* furiouſly, "I will give you an account of my whole life at once. But I ſee how it is, there is a party among you who purſue all good citizens with implacable animoſity*." He was made to underſtand, that this way of eluding one account which was demanded of him by offering to give another, of which there was no need, might not ſucceed quite ſo well another time. He perſiſted in what he had ſaid, and reſumed his former ſilence, which he did not break through during ſeveral Sittings.

A few days after, a much more ſerious diſpute aroſe, upon occaſion of a memorial reſpecting the ſituation of Paris, drawn up

* Sitting of the 26th of October.

and preſented to the Convention by the Miniſter of the Interior, in purſuance of a decree which had given him inſtructions ſo to do. In this long memorial, which was ſeveral times loudly applauded, the Miniſter deſcribed the ſtate of the different Public Authorities, and the obſtacles which were oppoſed to the execution of the laws by the Commune, by their Committee of Inſpection, or by the Sections. "In ſhort," ſaid the Miniſter in the recapitulation with which he concluded his deſcription, "Adminiſtrative Bodies without powers, a "deſpotic Commune, an inoffenſive but "greatly deceived people, a public force, "excellent in itſelf, but badly commanded, "make up the preſent condition of Paris. "Weakneſs and indeciſion on the part of "the Legiſlative Body who preceded you, "delay on that of the Convention in ſome "firm and very neceſſary arrangements, "conſtitute the cauſes of the evil. The "report which I thus make to you will, "without doubt, operate to my diſadvantage; but it is my duty to ſpeak the "truth, without concern for my perſonal "ſafety. To this my memorial I have "joined ſome vouchers, and particularly

" a letter, which proves that I was com-
" prehended in a liſt of proſcription de-
" nounced by the Criminal Court." This letter was couched in the following terms:

" I was in company with a member of
" the Section of Marſeilles, and of the
" club of the Cordeliers; he told me that
" the Revolution wanted the finiſhing
" ſtroke; that the day's work of the 2d
" of September was not complete, and ſome
" more blood muſt be ſhed. 'There yet
' remains,' added he, 'the cabal of *Roland*
' and *Briſſot*, whom we muſt get rid of:
' I hope we ſhall be able to accompliſh it in
' fifteen days at the fartheſt.' I did not
" think it right to aſk the name of this
" individual at the inſtant, but I can pro-
" cure it for you in about two days. *Buzot*
" has greatly offended this party it ſeems.
" *Vergniaux*, *Guadet*, *La Source*, *Bar-*
" *baroux*, and *Briſſot*, are thoſe who, ac-
" cording to them, compoſe the *Roland*
" Junto: they will not bear to hear any
" body but *Robeſpierre* mentioned, and
" affect to ſay, that no one but he can ſave
" the country. The Public Accuſer is a
" great friend of the man at whoſe houſe

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" I was, and whoſe name is *Fournier*, an " American." This letter was ſigned " DUBAIL."

Robeſpierre demanded leave to ſpeak, but could not obtain it till after many very ſharp altercations, mixed with abuſe and murmur, nor was he then permitted to ſpeak on any other ſubject than the printing of the Miniſter's memorial, and the ſending it to the 83 Departments: the motion for which had been made by a great number of the Members of the Aſſembly, and *Robeſpierre* was interrupted at every ſentence by cries of *the queſtion for the printing*. " At leaſt," exclaimed he, " hear what I have to ſay to " you!" This he repeated ſeveral times. " We do not want to know it," was the anſwer. At length they conſented to liſten to him. He dwelt long upon the injuſtice of hindering by clamours and murmurs a Repreſentative of the People from being heard in his defence, eſpecially when ſo unfairly accuſed as he was: he remarked alſo, how much indecent precipitancy was manifeſted in ſending to the Departments the memorials of Miniſters, before any proof had appeared of the ſerious criminations contained in them being founded

in

in fact. "Do you not," ſaid he, "hazard "the common-weal by theſe murmurs with "which we are ſo eternally teazed? Can "any one, without implicating the rights "of the people, thus haſtily render the "power of ſuffrage in one of their Repre- "ſentatives nugatory, and give them up to "thoſe deſperate reſentments, which have "been ſo long cheriſhed and prepared "againſt him. How! when there is not "in this Aſſembly any man daring enough "to accuſe face to face, by drawing up ex- "preſs and poſitive facts againſt me; when "there is not a ſingle perſon who will ven- "ture to aſcend the Tribune and begin a "calm and ſerious diſcuſſion with me.—" At theſe words *Louvet* roſe and requeſted to ſpeak, in order to accuſe *Robeſpierre*. "And "we too, we alſo are ready to accuſe him," cried two other deputies. "I claim the "liberty of finiſhing my ſpeech," rejoined *Robeſpierre*; "ſurely this is no perſonal "diſpute, for, if the ſyſtem which I have "juſt made a diſcovery of ſhould prevail, "the vileſt conſpiracies might with ſecurity "anticipate their ſucceſs, and freedom "would be done away by the oppreſſion of

"a number of its ſupporters." *To the point, to the point*, exclaimed every one. "If a hundred Members at once be al-"lowed, with impunity, thus to drown "my voice by their murmurs, will it "not follow that patriots, and men in-"volved in accuſation, be they who they "may, will not be judged by the Aſſem-"bly, but by the very enemies againſt "whom we proteſt?" This aſſertion he ſupported by all the common-place Revolutionary expreſſions he was maſter of; and at length concluded with moving a reſolution, that the Aſſembly ſhould fix a day for the diſcuſſion of the Miniſter's report; and to this he added another, that the ſending of this Memorial to the ſeveral Departments ſhould be put off. He moved alſo that his accuſers ſhould be heard.

Danton, faithful to his worthy colleague, and eager to afford him all his aid, braved every one of thoſe motions ſo pregnant with diſaſter to himſelf, which had recently been made againſt him, in order to ſpeak in behalf of his friend. "I am at a loſs to con-"ceive," ſaid he, "how the Aſſembly can

"for

" for a moment heſitate to fix decidedly " upon an early day for that diſcuſſion, " which the report of the Miniſter renders " abſolutely neceſſary. It is high time that " we ſhould know who are and who are not " our coadjutors; and it is alſo time for " them to underſtand what opinion they " ought to form of us. It is impoſſible to " deny that there does exiſt in this Aſſem- " bly an unfailing ſpring of miſtruſt: if " ſo, it muſt be made to ceaſe; and if there " be amongſt us one guilty Member, it is " your duty to let juſtice overtake him. I " declare to the Convention and the whole " nation, that I love not that man, *Marat*; " his temper is not only fiery and peeviſh, " but ſullen and incapable of union. I " allow that it is juſt for the Miniſter of " the Interior, and for all good citizens " actuated by a philanthropic ſpirit of hu- " manity, to lament thoſe calamities which " are inſeparable from a great Revolution. " But whence comes it that a Miniſter, who " could not be ignorant of all the circum- " ſtances which have brought on the events " he has detailed to you, can affect not to " perceive that there never was a Throne " daſhed in pieces without ſome good citi-

" zens

" zens being wounded by the fragments?
" He muſt not then impute to the city of
" Paris thoſe events which are, perhaps, in
" a great degree the conſequence of ſome
" individual reſentments, the exiſtence of
" which I myſelf cannot deny: nay, what
" is ſtill more probable, events which may
" have ariſen from that general commotion,
" that national fever, which has produced
" thoſe miracles of exertion and proweſs
" which will not fail to aſtoniſh poſterity.
" Suffer this truth to poſſeſs your minds,
" that in a Republic no faction can exiſt *.
" There are, it is true, paſſions which
" conceal themſelves from obſervation;
" there are crimes alſo which are nou-
" riſhed in the breaſts of ſome individuals;
" but there is no place for thoſe vaſt plots
" which give ſuch deadly blows to freedom.
" And where, let me aſk, ſhall we diſcover
" thoſe men who are accuſed of being
" conſpirators againſt the public liberty,
" pretenders to a Dictatorſhip or a Trium-
" virate? Let them be named. Yes, it

* *Louvet* refuted this abſurdity, and maintained, on the contrary, that the experience of ages proved factions to be, as it were, the epidemic diſeaſe of Republics.

would

" would much better become us to unite " our efforts to repreſs that agitation which " has been cauſed by a few private re- " ſentments, a few perſonal prejudices, " than to alarm ourſelves with vain and " chimerical conſpiracies, whoſe real exiſt- " ence we ſhould be greatly puzzled to " prove. I aſſert, that all thoſe who talk " of the faction of *Robeſpierre* are either " perſons ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt him, " or bad citizens." (He was here interrupted by violent murmurs.) " Let all thoſe," he proceeded, " who do not entertain the ſame " ideas with myſelf on this head, allow me " to ſubſtantiate them before they judge me. " I have accuſed no one, and I am ready to " repel all accuſations made againſt myſelf. " From knowing their ſtrength, and being " conſcious that I am not open to attack, " I now move that the diſcuſſion be ad- " journed to Monday next (November 5). " Thoſe good citizens who are only anxious " to be informed, and eager to comprehend " both men and meaſures, ſhall then very " ſoon diſtinguiſh who are deſerving of " hatred, or of their fraternal confidence; " for this alone can give to the Convention

" that

" that firm and lofty ſtep which ought to " mark its progreſs."

After much altercation between *Robeſpierre* and ſome of the Deputies, the Aſſembly rejected the propoſition of fixing a day for the diſcuſſion of the Miniſter's report, and referred it to the Committee, giving them ſtrict charge to inveſtigate it, and to propoſe ſuch meaſures as might re-eſtabliſh the public tranquillity, and ſecure the execution of the laws.

Louvet aſcended the Tribune, and ſpoke extempore for two hours, with a degree of talent and energy which no one before had given him credit for poſſeſſing. In this ſpeech he retraced the factious conduct and manœuvres of *Robeſpierre* and the Jacobins through nearly a year, and particularly from the 10th of Auguſt. " Then it was," ſaid he, " that we ſaw that man who ruled the " Jacobins, the new Commune, and after- " wards the Electoral Aſſembly, declaim- " ing againſt this philoſopher, that writer, " or ſome patriotic ſpeaker. Then it was " that we heard the inferior inſtruments of " his intrigues aſſerting that *Robeſpierre* " was the only virtuous man in France,

" and

" and that to no one could the welfare of the " country be entruſted ſo well as to him; " to him who was conſtantly laviſhing the " loweſt flatteries upon a few hundreds of " citizens, dignified firſt with the name of " the *people of Paris*, afterwards with that " of *the people* only, next with the high- " ſounding title of *the ſovereign*; to him " truly, from whoſe mouth proceeded no- " thing but encomiums upon his own de- " ſerving, his own perfections, his own vir- " tues, with which he was ſo plentifully " endowed — him, too, who, whenever, " according to his cuſtom, he had been " vaunting the power and the ſovereignty " of the people, never omitted to add that " he himſelf was of the people; an artifice " as palpable as it is criminal, a ſtratagem " to which all uſurpers have ever had " recourſe, from *Cæſar* to *Cromwell*, from " *Sylla* to *Maſſaniello*."

He called to mind the maſſacres of the 2d of September, and proved that on *Robeſpierre* alone ought the odium of thoſe horrid tranſactions to fall: " And they were " prolonged," ſaid he, " becauſe the guar- " dian authority of Paris was enſlaved; " becauſe *Roland* ſpoke in vain; becauſe " the

" the Miniſter of Juſtice at that time " (*Danton*) did not ſpeak at all; becauſe " the Preſidents of the 48 Sections, always " ready to repreſs ſuch diſorders, waited " for a requiſition, which the General in " command did not give; becauſe the Mu- " nicipal Officers, themſelves all clad in their " ſcarfs of office, preſided over thoſe atro- " cities. The Legiſlative Aſſembly could " not put a ſtop to them, becauſe their " authority was perverted, debaſed as they " were by an inſolent demagogue, who " appeared at the Bar to preſcribe decrees " for their adoption, who returned to the " Council-General only to denounce them, " who came back again to the Commiſſion " of the Twenty-one to threaten them with " having the alarm-bell rung *.

He concluded his ſpeech with the different heads of accuſation which he had drawn up againſt *Robeſpierre*. " I accuſe " you," ſaid he, " of having long oppreſſed

* *La Croix* and ſeveral other Deputies certified that this menace had been pronounced by *Robeſpierre* at the Bar of the Legiſlatvive Aſſembly, when he demanded the decree to confirm the ſuppreſſion of the Directory of the Department, which the Commune had reſolved.

" with

" with your aſperſions the pureſt patriots,
" and eſpecially the Repreſentatives of the
" people: I accuſe you of having calum-
" niated the ſame men in thoſe dreadful
" days of the firſt week of September; and
" that at the very time when your calumny
" had all the effect of proſcription: I ac-
" cuſe you of having ſtrained every nerve
" to miſrepreſent, to vilify, to perſecute
" the Repreſentatives of the nation, and to
" pervert their authority: I accuſe you of
" having continually inſinuated yourſelf
" amongſt the people as the object of their
" idolatry, of having ſuffered your partizans
" to declare you, even before your face, to
" be the only virtuous man in France that
" could ſave the people; and this yourſelf
" took pains to make them underſtand: I
" accuſe you of having, by every engine of
" intrigue and terror, tyrannized over the
" Electoral Aſſembly of the Department of
" Paris: and, as including all, I accuſe you
" of having evidently aimed at ſupreme
" power."

Louvet deſcended from the Tribune amidſt the cries of *bravo!* and the ſhouts of the greater part of the Aſſembly, who ordered that *Robeſpierre* ſhould be heard in eight days.

days, as he requeſted, in order to reply to *Louvet*'s accuſations.

In the following Sitting *Roland* came to announce that information had reached him of the petition which had been preſented by the 48 Sections, and rejected by the Aſſembly, having been addreſſed to all the Municipalities in packets, counterſigned *Petion*; and that he had thought it his duty to give orders at the poſt-office to ſtop thoſe packets. This act of inſolence and inſurrection on the part of the Commune excited a general indignation in the Aſſembly: loud exclamations from every part of the Hall demanded that this rebellious Commune ſhould be inſtantly diſſolved, or at all events ſuſpended. Some furious Jacobins undertaking their defence, extolled the ſervices which the Commune had rendered to the Revolution, and aſcribed to them all *the honour* of the events of the 10th of Auguſt. This aſſertion was vigorouſly refuted by *Barbaroux*. After having enumerated the foul deeds of *Robeſpierre*, of *Marat*, and of the Commune, he exclaimed, "They think to juſtify "themſelves by ſaying, *we effected the re-* "*volution of the 10th of Auguſt.* Hear "this, ye who fought at the Carouſel!

"Pariſians,

" Pariſians, Federates of the Departments,
" National Guards, ſpeak; were theſe with
" you? *Marat* wrote to me on the 9th of
" Auguſt to accompany him to Marſeilles.
" *Panis* and *Robeſpierre* were engaged in
" forming low cabals. Not one of them
" were at *Roland*'s houſe when he marked
" out the plan for the protection of the
" South, which was to carry liberty into the
" North, if the North had fallen. There
" was *not one of them at Charenton,*
" *where the attack upon the Court was ar-*
" *ranged, and which was to have been*
" *made on the 29th of July, but did not*
" *take place till the 10th of Auguſt.* It
" is, however, with theſe lying words,
" *We have effected the revolution of the*
" *10th,* that they hope to cauſe the aſſaſſi-
" nations of the 2d of September, their
" projects of Dictatorſhip, and their ſeve-
" ral ſpoliations to be forgotten.—Forgotten!
" No, no, I will not do ſo great an injury
" to the people of France, whoſe Revolu-
" tion they have tarniſhed by their miſ-
" deeds. I have denounced them, I now
" denounce them, and I will continue to
" denounce them; nor will I reſt till theſe
" aſſaſſins ſhall be puniſhed, their pecula-

" tions refunded, and their Dictators hurled " down the Tarpeian Rock."

The Aſſembly, however, ordained that the Miniſter of the Interior ſhould go in the morning to the poſt-office with two Commiſſioners, and in the preſence of two Members of the Council-General of the Commune, who ſhould be appointed for that purpoſe, make inquiry whether there were any packets addreſſed to the Departments, counterſigned *Petion*; what were their number and contents, in order that they might take a minute of the whole. They at the ſame time ordered that ten Members of the Commune ſhould appear at the Bar at twelve o'clock the ſame day, to declare whether they had given any inſtructions for copies of the addreſs which was preſented on the 19th, in the name of the 48 Sections of Paris, and rejected by the Aſſembly, to be ſent by the poſt, and with the counterſign of *Petion*, to the Departments and Municipalities.

A deputation of the Commune the next day, at the appointed hour, preſented themſelves at the Bar, and declared that no reſolution whatever had been entered into for circulating or ſending the addreſs of the

Sections to the Departments; and promiſed to ſearch out and denounce to the Convention thoſe Members of the Commune who had been concerned in theſe illegal diſpatches. The Aſſembly, after having heard this declaration, paſſed to the order of the day, which was the accuſation they had commenced againſt the Commune.

Thus this Convention, convoked amidſt circumſtances of the moſt ſerious importance, for the purpoſe of giving a new Conſtitution and a new Government to France, preſented the nation throughout their ſix firſt Sittings with nothing but the diſgraceful ſcenes of their paltry debates with the Sections of Paris *, and of deſpicable party-quarrels, in which wretches the moſt abhorred, ſuch as the *Marats*, the *Robeſpierres*, the *Dantons*, the *Talliens*, &c. acted the principal parts.

* I have related only the moſt remarkable; it would have been tireſome to have reported all the deliberations of the Sections and Municipalities for and againſt carrying on the election openly, or by ballot, &c.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Means employed in Favour of Robeſpierre —His Speech on the Maſſacres of September—His Contempt of Roland—Barrere embraces the Cauſe of Robeſpierre —Robeſpierre's Triumph—Firſt Report preparatory to trying the King—Obſervations on the Charges brought againſt him—Bazire charges the Royaliſts with taking a Part in the Maſſacres of September—Report on the Queſtion whether the King could be tried—The Principle examined—Mailhe's Report maintaining the Affirmative—Plan of the Decree for trying

trying the King—Petion's Speech—Conduct of the Municipal Officers at the Temple—Battle of Gemappe—Mons ſurrenders—Duke of Orleans.

EIGHT days had elapſed ſince the vigorous attack made on *Robeſpierre* by *Louvet* and ſome other of the Deputies. Several of the charges, which were both heavy and numerous, that had been drawn up againſt him, were already forgotten; and the general impreſſion they had made was the more weakened, as during that interval the moſt pompous eulogiums of his Revolutionary virtues, and a ſtudied diſplay of all the ſervices he had rendered the Revolution, were made every day in the Tribune of the Jacobins, among the groups of the Fauxbourgs, and in a multitude of pamphlets with which the Capital was overwhelmed. The denunciators, the adverſaries of *this virtuous friend of the people*, were deſcribed and marked out for the vengeance of the patriots, as ſuſpected of Royaliſm or as Counter-revolutioniſts.

Robeſpierre having thus prepared the way for his triumph by terror, proudly aſcended

the Tribune on the 5th of November, at the opening of the Sitting, to reply to his denunciators. He combated the proofs which had been brought againſt him with mere ſubtilties and unſupported contradictions: he paſſed over ſeveral of them in ſilence, and identifying himſelf with the Revolution, he maintained that it was upon that the attack was made; that it was againſt that that the denunciations he had to repel were directed; and that it was to that the principal grievances charged to him were to be imputed. He treated his accuſers with the moſt inſolent contempt. "The names," ſaid he, "of the baſe factious creatures, "who with ſtones aſſailed *Cato* in the Tri- "bune of the Roman people, are now ut- "terly unknown; the attention of poſterity "dwells only on the image of that great "man. Would you try the Revolutionary "Council-General of the Commune of "Paris? Place yourſelves in the boſom of "that immortal Revolution which created "it, and of which you are yourſelves the "work.——Citizens! would you have a "Revolution without a Revolution? And "what is this ſpirit of perſecution that "wiſhes to revive, if I may ſo ſay, that

"Revolu-

" Revolution which has broken your chains,
" and to meaſure with the Conſtitutional
" compaſs all the actions of thoſe by whom
" it was effected, as if they could be re-
" ſponſible for the violence and duration of
" the political ſtorm that has ſaved the
" country. They ſhould be conſidered as
" ſupported by virtual authority for the
" whole ſociety. The friends of liberty
" aſſembled at Paris in the month of Au-
" guſt laſt, have, under that title, acted in
" the name of all the Departments; they
" muſt be approved of entirely, or diſap-
" proved of entirely. But do not think
" that I have invoked theſe eternal princi-
" ples in favour of the Commune, becauſe
" we have occaſion to throw a veil over any
" reprehenſible actions? No, we have not
" been wanting in our duty; I ſwear it by
" the ſubverted throne, and by the Repub-
" lic riſing on its ruins!—Much has been
" ſaid to you of the events of the 2d of
" September: they who maintain that I
" have had the ſligheſt ſhare in them, are
" either extremely credulous, or extremely
" wicked. As for the man who thought
" he might with impunity publiſh in print
" that I had directed them, I ſhould con-

" tent myſelf with leaving him to the re-
" morſe of his conſcience, were he ſuſcep-
" tible of ſuch a puniſhment; but for thoſe
" who may be miſled by impoſture, I affirm,
" that previous to the time at which they
" happened, I had ceaſed frequenting the
" Council-General of the Commune; that
" I was informed of what was paſſing at
" the priſons only by public report, and
" later than moſt of the citizens. In order
" to form a juſt idea of thoſe events, the
" truth muſt be ſought, not in the calum-
" nious pamphlets and ſpeeches which have
" totally miſrepreſented the nature of them,
" but in the hiſtory of the revolution of the
" 10th of Auguſt. They who have at-
" tempted to perſuade you that there was
" no analogy between the two periods,
" have pretended to know neither the facts
" nor the human heart. It was believed by
" a great number of citizens, that the
" 10th of Auguſt had broken the threads
" of Royal conſpiracies; when ſuddenly
" the news ſpreads through Paris that
" Longwy and Verdun had ſurrendered,
" and that *Brunſwick* was advancing to-
" wards Paris with an army of 100,000
" men. The danger was great; it appeared

" ſtill

" ſtill greater. *Danton*, then Miniſter of " Juſtice, went to the Legiſlative Aſſem- " bly, painted to them in a lively manner " the peril and the reſources, induced them " to take vigorous meaſures, and gave a " great impulſe to public opinion. He " repaired to the Commune, and invited " the Municipality to cauſe the alarm-bell " to be rung. The Council-General of the " Commune felt that the country could not " be ſaved but by prodigies, which the " enthuſiaſm of liberty alone could pro- " duce; and that it was neceſſary that all " Paris ſhould rouſe, in order to fly and " meet the Pruſſians. They cauſed the " alarm-bell to be rung, and in an inſtant " 40,000 men were armed, equipped, aſ- " ſembled, and ready to march towards " Châlons. Before they left their wives " and children, they were determined on " the puniſhment of the conſpirators, which " had been ſo often promiſed them. They " ran to the priſons—could the magiſtrates " ſtop the exaſperated people? who, in " anſwer to their ſpeeches, put them in " mind of the victory gained over tyranny " on the 10th of Auguſt, and of the " prompti-

" promptitude with which they were flying " to meet the foreign enemy, &c."

Thus, although it was generally known and eſtabliſhed by the declarations of a multitude of eye-witneſſes, that thoſe maſſacres were committed by two or three hundred aſſaſſins, *Robeſpierre*, who at that very moment found himſelf applauded by a great number of thoſe villains whom he ſaw in the galleries, impudently aſſociated in their crimes 40,000 fathers of families, who, he affirmed, had aſſembled, armed, and equipped, at the ſound of the alarm-bell, to march towards Châlons *. After having thus exaggerated the number of the aſſaſſins, he ſpoke of the victims who periſhed on

* He would have been much nearer the truth, had he ſaid there were 4000 inſtead of 40,000 of thoſe patriots; for that was nearly the number of the whole of the volunteers who ſet out from Paris after the 2d of September; and there were very few among them who had taken a part in the maſſacre of the priſoners. Almoſt all thoſe villains remained in Paris; and *Petion*, in his ſpeech which he publiſhed on the accuſation brought forward againſt *Robeſpierre*, allowed that they had applied to him to be paid for the time they had employed in the ſlaughter. *See Petion's ſpeech in the Moniteur of November* 10, *page* 1336.

thoſe

thoſe dreadful days. " It is affirmed," ſaid he, " that an innocent perſon was deſtroyed. " No doubt even a ſingle one is too many. " Citizens! lament that cruel miſtake; we " have long lamented it: he was a good " citizen, arreſted through a miſtake of his " name; he was therefore one of our friends. " Nay, lament the guilty victims intended " for the vengeance of the laws, and who " have fallen beneath the ſword of popular " juſtice; but let there be an end to your " griefs, as there is to every thing in hu- " man nature. Lament alſo a hundred " thouſand patriots ſacrificed by tyranny; " lament our citizens expiring in their " houſes ſet on fire, and their children maſ- " ſacred in their cradles, or in the arms of " their mothers. The family of French " Legiſlators is the country, is all human " kind, tyrants and their accomplices ex- " cepted. Lament, then, lament huma- " nity, cruſhed beneath their odious yoke; " but conſole yourſelves in ſecuring the " happineſs of your country, and in pre- " paring that of the whole world: conſole " yourſelves in recalling to the earth equa- " quality and juſtice, baniſhed from it; and " in drying up, by juſt laws, the ſource of

" the

" the crimes and of the miſeries of your " fellow-creatures. I ſuſpect that ſenſibi- " lity, which is ſcarcely ever awakened but " for the enemies of liberty. Ceaſe diſ- " playing the bloody robe of the tyrant, or " I ſhall think that you wiſh to throw Rome " again into chains."

The moſt remarkable part of *Robeſpierre*'s defence, however, was the contemptuous and arrogant ſtyle in which he treated *Roland*'s report, warmly applauded a few days before by the Aſſembly, and the letter that Miniſter had annexed to it. " How ſhall I " ſpeak," cried he, " of that letter ſaid to " be *timidly*, and I dare ſay very auk- " wardly, preſented to your curioſity? An " enigmatical letter of anonymous brigands, " anonymous aſſaſſins, and amidſt this ob- " ſcurity theſe words thrown in as if by " chance: *they will hear of nothing but* " *Robeſpierre!* What! reſervations and " myſteries in a thing ſo ſerious! Virtuous " man! excluſively, eternally virtuous man! " after ſo many libels, ſo many pamphlets " of every kind, whither, with your very " artful report to the National Convention, " would you go in the path of ſin? You " tried public opinion, and ſtopped fright-

" ened yourſelf at your own audacity—you
" did right. Nature has formed you nei-
" ther for great actions, nor great crimes. I
" here forbear, in pity for you; but another
" time conſider better of the inſtruments
" put into your hands. Do you think that
" if I would deſcend to ſimilar denuncia-
" tions againſt you, I ſhould find any diffi-
" culty in preſenting ſeveral much more
" exact, and much better ſupported? I have
" hitherto diſdained them. Beſides, I have
" never believed in the courage of the
" wicked: but reflect upon yourſelf; ſee
" with what aukwardneſs you entangle
" yourſelf in your own ſnares. Let us, if
" poſſible, bury theſe wretched machina-
" tions in eternal oblivion. Would that we
" could conceal from the knowledge of
" poſterity theſe ſhameful days, in which
" the Repreſentatives of the people, led
" away by miſerable intrigues, ſeem to
" forget the grand deſtiny to which they
" were called! I have declined taking the
" advantage I might eaſily have done of
" anſwering the calumnies of my adverſa-
" ries, by more formidable denunciations;
" I was reſolved to ſuppreſs the offenſive
" part of my juſtification; I decline the
" juſt

" juſt revenge I have a right to purſue " againſt my ſlanderers; I aſk no other " than the return of peace, and the triumph " of liberty."

This defence, which laſted nearly two hours, was often interrupted by applauſes; and they were redoubled when *Robeſpierre* deſcended from the Tribune. His accuſers demanded to be heard, in order to reply, and to make new denunciations againſt him; but their demand was oppoſed with repeated ſhouts of *to the order of the day.* The famous *Barrere* inſiſted that the reaſons for adopting the order of the day ſhould be inſerted in the Minutes. " What," ſaid he, " ſignify, in the eyes of a political Legiſla- " tor, all theſe accuſations of Dictatorſhip, " of ambition, of the ſupreme power, and " the ridiculous project of a Triumvirate? " Citizens! do not let us give importance " to men whom the general opinion will " put in their places better than we can: " let us not raiſe pedeſtals for pigmies. " If there exiſted in the Republic a man " born with the genius of *Cæſar*, or the " audacity of *Cromwell*—a man who with " the talents of *Sylla* poſſeſſed the ſame " dangerous means, I would boldly ſtep

" forth

" forth to accuſe him before this Aſſembly;
" for ſuch a man might be dangerous to
" liberty. If there exiſted here any Legiſ-
" lator of great genius, ſtrong character,
" vaſt ambition, I ſhould aſk in the firſt
" place if he had an army at his command,
" a public treaſury at his diſpoſal, or a great
" party in the Senate or in the Republic:
" but men of a day, petty partizans of
" a Revolution, politicians who will never
" be heard of in hiſtory, are not proper
" objects to occupy the valuable time that
" you ſhould devote to the great affairs with
" which the people have charged you.
" Should a great General, intoxicated with
" his ſucceſs, his brows bound with victo-
" rious wreaths, and returning amongſt us
" with a triumphant army, appear at your
" Bar, as did the perfidious *La Fayette*,
" to command the Legiſlators, or inſult the
" rights of the people, it would no doubt
" behove you to turn your attention and the
" ſeverity of the laws on that guilty man:
" but that you ſhould confer this fearful
" honour on thoſe whoſe civic crowns are
" mingled with cypreſs, is what I cannot
" conceive; for theſe men have ceaſed to
" be dangerous in a Republic. It is not

" eaſy

" eaſy to bend towards the Dictatorſhip in " a nation which has courageous and en- " lightened Repreſentatives, and which to " great knowledge adds the advantages of " the liberty of the preſs, before which " vaniſh all incendiaries, all intriguers, and " all reputation whatever that is not built " on diſintereſted ſervices, and the real love " of the country. Let us put an end then " to theſe political duels, theſe ſingle com- " bats of vanity and hatred: let us no longer " preſent to Europe the diſgraceful ſight of " the wretched paſſions that govern men, " and from which Legiſlators ſhould be " exempt."

This was the firſt important occaſion which *Barrere* had had of diſplaying his Revolutionary eloquence. This ſpeech is enough not only to give a juſt idea of his oratorical talents, but to ſhow the ſubtilty and meanneſs of the man, who had neither character nor principles; who was ever ready to join the party, right or wrong, that appeared to him the ſtronger, and to deſert it the moment he thought it the weaker. While uncertain of the iſſue of *Robeſpierre*'s buſineſs, he ſpoke ſo as to ſatisfy all parties nearly alike. They who, through fear of popular

popular vengeance, or weary of the long debates brought on by this diſpute, wiſhed that the Aſſembly ſhould put an end to it by paſſing to the order of the day, could not but thank *Barrere* for having ſupported their opinion. The enemies of *Robeſpierre* had warmly applauded the vehement expreſſions which held up his ambitious pretenſions to ridicule and contempt; and his friends themſelves muſt have been pleaſed with *Barrere* for having taken the beſt means to get rid of the accuſation againſt him. A week earlier, *Robeſpierre* would have been grateful for it; but on that day he felt too ſtrong to ſuffer himſelf to be humbled. "I want none of your "*order of the day*," cried he inſolently, "if you are to preface it with a ſtate-"ment of reaſons inſulting to me." The plaudits of the galleries vigorouſly ſupported this remonſtrance, and enſured it ſucceſs. The Aſſembly almoſt unanimouſly adopted the motion ſimply for the order of the day.

The victory gained by *Robeſpierre* in the Convention was celebrated on the ſame day at the Club of the Jacobins with the warmeſt enthuſiaſm. The moment he appeared

there, the Hall reſounded with acclamations and plaudits: all the Members who ſpoke at this Sitting vied with one another in laviſhing the moſt fulſome praiſes *on the maſculine and natural eloquence of the ſpeech, by which he had confounded his enemies, and the energy with which, riſing to the height of his Republican greatneſs and of his virtues, he had forgotten himſelf to think only of the public weal.* "This "day," ſaid they, "is one of the moſt "glorious that liberty has beheld.—Truth "and Juſtice triumph. The vile reptiles "that accuſed *Robeſpierre* did not dare to "meet the looks of the eagle, &c." Several Members of the Convention were preſent at this Sitting, and among others, *Manuel* and *Barrere:* the former read a copy of the ſentiments he intended to have delivered in the National Aſſembly on the affair of *Robeſpierre*, if the cloſing of the debate had not taken place before he could ſpeak. He extolled the eminent ſervices rendered by the Revolutionary Commune, boaſted of having ordered the alarm-bell to be rung on the 2d of September, and praiſed *Robeſpierre for having come immaculate from the Aſſembly, where the corrupt and*

and the rich ſpread their gold and their vices. "Always ſeated by *Petion*," ſaid he, "they were the twins of liberty." *Barrere* alſo ſpoke of what he would have ſaid, had he been permitted by circumſtances, and endeavoured to juſtify and explain what he had been *forced* to ſay, and what he had been reproached for. He commented upon, and aukwardly mutilated the cutting paſſages of his ſpeech, which moſt evidently applied to *Robeſpierre*. "Theſe," ſaid he impudently, "are the very words I "uſed; We may be afraid of Dictators and "Triumvirs, when we have ſuch men to "deal with as *Cæſar* and *Cromwell*, with a "Senate at their command, and armies and "treaſuries at their diſpoſal; but what can "we fear from obſcure men, who have "appeared but a moment, and whoſe crowns "are mixed with cypreſs? *Collot d'Herbois* "ſaid, *we deplore the misfortunes of the* "*2d*; and I only ſaid the ſame thing in "another way, by putting cypreſs in the "crowns." Such of his hearers as had a few hours before been in the Convention, and heard him expreſs himſelf in very different terms, were aſtoniſhed at his impudence. *Robeſpierre* might eaſily

have confounded and driven him from the club with diſgrace; but he thought it better to pardon and make uſe of him, for he found it neceſſary to attach to his party ſome ſpeaker rather more diſtinguiſhed than *Merlin*, *Chabot*, *Bazire*, *Collot D'Herbois*, and *Tallien*, yet equally familiar with impoſture. *Barrere* fully juſtified his confidence. He was the defender and accomplice of all *Robeſpierre*'s crimes; nor did he abandon him till it appeared ſafer to attack than to ſupport him. The fidelity of ſcoundrels never extends farther.

Thus *Robeſpierre*, evidently guilty, not only of having inſtigated, directed, and partaken all the enormities of the Revolutionary Commune of Paris, but alſo of having threatened the Legiſlative Body, deſpiſed and degraded their authority, of having aſpired to the Dictatorſhip, and of having employed the moſt criminal manœuvres to uſurp the Supreme Power; *Robeſpierre*, ſolemnly accuſed of all theſe crimes, and oppoſing only his ſimple denial to facts of which the whole Capital were witneſſes; gained the compleateſt victory over his accuſers in the Convention, although he was then deteſted and dreaded by moſt of that Aſſembly.

Aſſembly. But they had occaſion for him to conſummate, and to render popular, the horrible crime which they were meditating; and the extreme wickedneſs of that monſter being ſubſtituted for innocence, rendered it unneceſſary for him to juſtify himſelf.

No ſooner was the trial of *Robeſpierre* terminated, than the Convention prepared to commence that of *Louis* XVI. The firſt report was made by *Valazé* in the name of the Commiſſion of the twenty-four, and ſtated the reſult of the immenſe reſearches to which they had devoted themſelves from the 10th of Auguſt; the facts that they had collected relative to the King, *the proofs that they had obtained, and which they had found ſcattered in a chaos of vouchers, moſt of which were of no importance, and many had nothing to do with the man in queſtion**. "Still," added the reporter, "the work I have ſubmitted to you "is but very imperfect; ſtill am I obliged "to regret that it does not preſent to you "all the blackneſs of the views of the "common enemy; but, though it be eaſy

* I have no occaſion to ſay that this expreſſion is copied word for word from *Valazé*'s report.

" to ſuſpect that there were more proofs, it " was perhaps impoſſible to collect a greater " number, as they were got only by chance." In this then conſiſted thoſe facts and pretended proofs collected from among the papers ſeized at the Palace, at the Comptroller's, and at the treaſurer's of the Civil Liſt, at M. *de Montmorin*'s, at M. *de Leſſart*'s, and at my houſe. I ſhall content myſelf with adding to them a few brief obſervations, to enable the reader to appreciate them.

The Reporter firſt cited a letter from M. *de Bouillé*, dated December 15, 1791, containing an account of the ſums which he had received from the King at the time of the journey to Varennes, and the remainder of which he had remitted to MONSIEUR. This letter was ſtated as a voucher to prove that the King had been acceſſary to the plots of M. *de Bouillé* and the flight of MONSIEUR, and that he had kept up intelligence with the Court of Berlin, to adjuſt there the declaration of war againſt France.

Every thing was at an end in reſpect to the journey to Varennes. The Firſt Aſſembly had determined, and I have demonſtrated in the firſt part of this work that the King might lawfully attempt that fatal enterpriſe,

as the Conſtitutional act, which took from him the power of going to a greater diſtance than twenty leagues from the town where the National Aſſembly held their Sittings, had not yet been preſented for his ſanction. The King had never permitted or approved the remittance of the money made to MONSIEUR by M. *de Bouillé*, who ſolemnly atteſted what I now aſſert, by a depoſition ſworn before the Lord Mayor of London in 1792, and ſent to M. *de Maleſherbes**. Beſides, M. *de Bouillé*'s letter was not addreſſed to the King, but to the treaſurer of the Civil Liſt†, and contained only an account of the ſums expended by M. *de Bouillé* for the journey to Varennes. *Valazé* aſſerted that they amounted to upwards of ſix millions of livres; but the Treaſurer of the Civil Liſt atteſted in his declaration that they amounted to no more than 960,000 livres,

* I remember to have heard his Majeſty expreſs his diſſatisfaction at this remittance, and he foreſaw that it would ſome day be imputed to him as a crime. "I "ſhall be accuſed," ſaid he, "of having cauſed this "money to be remitted to my brothers to pay the "armies."

† See M. *de Septeuil*'s declaration, Private Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 397.

and he pointed out the vouchers that proved it. The other conjectures which the Reporter ventured to make from this letter, are abſolutely foreign to it.

Vouchers, which proved that M. *de Goguelat* had received 3600 livres from M. *de Bouillé*, 9000 livres from M. *de Choiſeuil-Stainville*, and 60,000 livres from the Civil Liſt, for which he had bound himſelf to account, ſerved as a ground for a ſecond article of impeachment. There was no document to ſhow the uſe that had been made of thoſe different ſums. It would have been in M. *de la Porte*'s power to give the moſt ſatisfactory explanations on this head; but care had been taken to ſacrifice him*, in order the more eaſily to attach ſuſpicions of perfidy and of plots to the expences of the Civil Liſt. "Judge, citizens," cried the Reporter, "what account *Goguelat* could "give of theſe ſums, and with what buſi- "neſs he muſt have been charged!"

The King had granted on the Civil Liſt a

* How many more of the victims of September might be cited, whoſe only crime was that of having been witneſſes of the King's conduct, and able to eſtabliſh his innocence by their depoſitions.

penſion

penſion of 4000 livres to the widow *Favras*, 800 livres each to two pariſh Prieſts, formerly of Verſailles, while they remained unprovided for, and a ſecurity for 1,200,000 livres to the Bookſellers' Company of Paris, to encourage a great undertaking relative, not to political works of the moment, but to claſſical works of hiſtory and general literature; and theſe acts of humanity and beneficence formed ſo many heads of impeachment againſt *Louis* XVI.! Indeed, to find him guilty, it was neceſſary to conſtrue his virtues into crimes; and this ſort of juriſprudence, already eſtabliſhed on the 2nd of September by the aſſaſſin-judges of the priſoners, naturally became that of the Convention.

Valazé alſo adduced as a proof againſt his Majeſty M. *de la Porte*'s letter to M. *de Septeuil*, from which it appeared, that he had flattered himſelf with obtaining for 1,500,000 livres a decree to diſcharge the Civil Liſt of a part of the military penſions with which it was burdened, and for 150,000 livres, another decree favourable to the liquidation of the ſums which had been paid for offices in the King's houſehold. This letter was ſufficient, in the opinion of the Reporter,

Reporter, to prove that *Louis* XVI. had had *the criminal intention and ſhameful hope of corrupting the Repreſentatives of the nation with money.* But, in the firſt place, this letter did not contain a ſingle word from which it could be inferred that the King had permitted, approved, or even known this project of corruption; and it is more than probable that he would have heard nothing of it till it had ſucceeded: ſuch, at leaſt, was the conduct purſued by the Miniſters when ſimilar propoſals were made to them, for propoſals of this kind never originated with them. It is no ſecret now, that thoſe violent ſticklers for the liberty and intereſts of the people, thoſe pure patriots, thoſe exalted Revolutionary empirics, were almoſt all of them nothing more than vile and miſerable intriguers, ready to ſell their influence in paſſing decrees the moſt juſt*.

Of

* We have ſeen in the preceding chapters the prices at which *Vergniaux*, *Briſſot*, *Genſonné*, the Abbé *Fauchet*, and another Deputy, whom I did not think proper to name, wiſhed M. *de Leſſart* to have purchaſed their ſervices. My moſt violent perſecutors, *Cavelier* and *Roubier*, would have been my defenders, had I conſented to give the

Of the papers ſeized at M. *de Septeuil's* ſome related to his own affairs, and ſome to the Civil Liſt. Among the latter was found an order of the King's, dated January 9th, 1791, authorizing M. *de Septeuil* to place, either in Paris or abroad, funds belonging to his Majeſty, and then unemployed, amounting to 150,000 livres; and, among the former, papers concerning a ſpeculation which M. *de Septueil* had entered into in company with other capitaliſts, and with which the King had no connection whatever; it conſiſted of a purchaſe of corn, ſugar, and coffee to the value of upwards of two millions of livres. The Commiſſion of the twenty-four, by a miſtake too glaring to be unintentional, connected theſe papers with the order of January 9th, 1791, which evidently had no relation to them, and thence concluded that the King was guilty of the odious offence of engroſſing corn, ſugar, and coffee. M. *de Septeuil's* declaration has ſufficiently demonſtrated the falſehood and abſurdity of this charge.

the former a place he aſked me for, and the latter the *Croix de St. Louis*, with the contract for victualling the navy for a Houſe he recommended, and who were to have given him a hundred thouſand crowns.

The

The Reporter founded another article of impeachment on a receipt of one *Giles*, which proved that he had received from M. *de la Porte* 72,000 livres, *for the months of May and June, and for the organization of ſixty men.* This levy of men, ſaid to be armed, was denounced as a manifeſt violation of the Conſtitutional act, tit. III. chap. III. art. 1.; and, as an inconteſtible proof that there were many other ſecret enrolments made at the Kings expence, though no written proof had yet been found of them. "A levy of ſixty men only," ſaid *Valazé*, "would have been totally uſeleſs, and not "worth the riſk of being expoſed to the "rigorous chaſtiſement inflicted by the "Penal Code; the certainty, therefore, of "the levy of theſe ſixty men demonſtrates "that there were many others."

I have already ſpoken in the preceding chapters of the ſervice of the ſixty men employed by *Giles*, which conſiſted in obſerving what was going forward, what was ſaid in the different quarters of Paris, in the clubs, public-houſes, walks, &c. and in giving ſeparate minutes of them to *Giles*, who was every day to ſend the moſt important to the confidential Miniſter, whom the King had charged

charged to receive them, and to communicate them to him. His Majeſty confided this commiſſion to me after the decree of impeachment was paſſed againſt M. *de Leſſart*, and during the ſix weeks ſucceeding my retreat in the Miniſtry, I received *Giles*'s minutes, and paid him the wages of his men; but at the end of that time I diſmiſſed him, as I found ſome ſlips in his accounts, and as, beſides, his minutes gave me no information of importance, which was not as ſoon, and much better communicated by the Juſtice of Peace *Buob*. *Giles* then applied to M. *de la Porte*, who, no doubt, fearing the treachery or indiſcretion of thoſe ſpies, if they were no longer employed, conſented, without my knowledge, to continue this expence. It did not amount to 5000 livres a week; but *Giles* farther received from the Civil Liſt 16,000 livres per month, that is, 4000 for carrying on a Conſtitutional Journal that he had eſtabliſhed, under the title of *Poſtillon de la Guerre*, of which *Eſmenard* was the editor, and 12,000 to pay the conductors of the Journal entitled the *Logographe* the ſurplus of their expences. It is well known that this Journal, dictated in a manner word for

for word by the Aſſembly themſelves, did not contain a ſingle reflection of the editor's, and was only as exact a report as poſſible of all that was ſaid in each Sitting. Nothing then could be leſs blamable than the uſe made of the ſum mentioned in *Giles*'s receipt; yet was this paper preſented by the Reporter as a full proof of ſecret enrolments, and of the exiſtence of an army of conſpirators; and, in ſupport of theſe perfidious ſuppoſitions, he mentioned pretended declarations made to the Magiſtrates of the Police reſpecting the number of armed Royaliſts, magazines of arms, ammunition, clothing, &c. But where did theſe Royaliſts meet? Where were theſe arms, ammunition, clothing? Who ſaw them? What were they intended for? What became of them? Nothing of this was atteſted by any witneſs, and the only explanation given by the Reporter was in theſe words:—*Who can deny after the* 10*th of Auguſt, on which the friends of* Louis Capet *were the aggreſſors, that plans of attack had been formed?* He forgot that, a few days before, the Commune, the Jacobins, and the Marſeillois' deputies, had ſolemnly claimed in the Aſſembly the glory of having projected, prepared,

pared, and directed the attack upon the Palace.

After having enlarged a long time with comments and conjectures on theſe two heads of impeachment, ſaid to be the moſt ſerious, and the fulleſt proved, *Valazé* declared, that the examination which he had made of all the papers articled by the Commiſſion, had convinced him, that there was no point on which *Louis* XVI. had not manifeſted *incivic* ſentiments. I ſhall here inſert the pretended proofs on which he founded this charge, each accompanied with obſervations.

" 1ſt, *Louis* XVI. received and treated " familiarly only the enemies of the coun- " try. I lay before you a card of admiſſion " to the Palace, given to *Deſprémenil*, " ſigned by the Inſpector of the Thuilleries."

After the outrages of the 20th of June 1792, it had appeared prudent to allow only perſons known, and who were not ſuſpected, to go into the Palace; and none were admitted but with cards ſigned by the Inſpector of the Thuilleries. More than a thouſand of theſe were given out, and it would have been hard to refuſe one to M. *Deſpremenil*, whatever were his hatred of the

the Jacobins and of the factious, who called themſelves patriots.

" 2d, If any one came from Coblentz " he was immediately at home in the Palace; " for inſtance, *Viomeſnil*, and even *Bouillé*, " the infamous *Bouillé*, was to have ap- " peared there in the month of July " laſt."

M. *de Viomeſnil* never emigrated; he died at Paris of the wound he received on the 10th of Auguſt, when accompanying the King to the Aſſembly; nor did M. *de Bouillé* ever ſet his foot in France after the King's journey to Varennes.

" 3d, A note relative to the Poſt-office " proves, that all the letters of the *ci-devant* " King were directed or ſent to *Dogny*, the " Comptroller-General of the Poſt, who " had orders to forward thoſe that came " from Turin or the frontiers the moment " they were received; whereas, thoſe of " France were only ſent once a week, " which ſhows the preference granted to " the intereſt of the Emigrants, and of the " enemies of France."

The letters from the different parts of France directed to the King by the poſt, after the commencement of the Revolution,

were almoſt all written by Revolutionary clubs or fanatics, and contained only threats and the groſſeſt inſults*; ſo that *Louis* XVI. might, without a crime, be leſs anxious to read them than to learn news of his brothers, aunts, nephews, &c. Beſides, the duty of the Comptroller of the Poſts reſpecting letters addreſſed to the King was only what it had always been before.

" 4th. *Louis* XVI. cauſed a penſion to " be paid at Turin to a valet-de-chambre of " Madame *D'Artois* for his attendance " upon her; and he granted a penſion of " 200,000 livres to the children of *Artois* " till their father could provide for them."

William and *Mary* granted a penſion to *James* II. without ever being ſuſpected of favouring his pretenſions to the throne of England.

" 5th. He alſo penſioned the late *Gardes-* " *du-corps*, and his diſbanded Conſtitutional " Guard; he ſent aſſiſtance to the Emi- " grants, and particularly to one *Rochefort*, " and to *Hamilton*, who had made a figure " in his flight to Varennes.

M. *de Septeuil* atteſted in his declaration

* I ſpeak of this fact as being well known to myſelf.

that theſe two perſons received with their own hands, at Paris, the ſum that was granted to them. Beſides, it has been allowed and proved by all the clerks and perſons employed in the offices of the Civil Liſt, that there was an order from the King forbidding any payment to be made on account of the Civil Liſt, to perſons ſuſpected of emigration, unleſs they produced the certificates of reſidence required by the decrees; therefore, if any payment had been made contrary to this order, the treaſurer of the Civil Liſt would alone have been reſponſible for it. The ſame obſervation applies to the penſions ſaid to be paid to the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and the account or ſtatement of thoſe penſions ſent to the King by the Prince of *Poix*, and cited with ſuch aſſurance by the Reporter to prove that they had been paid, demonſtrated, on the contrary, the falſehood of the aſſertion. The King, faithful in his moſt ſecret actions to the engagements he had entered into, had neither ſigned nor allowed this account, which, conſequently, could not in any ſhape be adduced as a paper for which he was anſwerable; but, even had this account been allowed, it would have proved nothing

againſt the King, becauſe, according to the decrees, and the order given by his Majeſty to the Treaſurer of the Civil Liſt, nothing would have been paid to the *Gardes-du-Corps* who did not produce their certificates of reſidence. As to the gratuities given to the perſons who had compoſed the diſbanded Conſtitutional Guard, and who had not emigrated, they prove the juſtice as well as the benificence of *Louis* XVI. and conſequently could not be blamed but by villains, in whoſe eyes all the virtues were crimes.

This report, in the account of which I have been moſt ſcrupulouſly exact, concluded with theſe words:—"Such is the faithful "view of the crimes of which the *ci-devant* "King is convicted by the papers ſubmitted "to our examination." The Reporter obſerved, as did ſome other deputies, that new proofs and new facts might be found in other depoſits. But it is undeniable, that among the papers ſeized at the Palace, in the offices of the Civil Liſt, at the houſes of the Miniſters, and of all the perſons arreſted as ſuſpected, the Commiſſion had ſelected the papers which they thought moſt concluſive againſt the King; and yet, among all the

articles of impeachment heaped together in *Valazé*'s report, there is not a ſingle one that can furniſh grounds, I will not ſay for a charge, but for the ſlighteſt reproach againſt *Louis* XVI. and there are ſeveral that evince his virtues.

Several Members of the Aſſembly expoſed the inſufficiency of this Report, the greateſt part of which conſiſted of conjectures or groſs inſults. Some moved, that it ſhould be ſent to the Committee of Inſpection, who ſhould be charged to make a general report; others, that the Aſſembly ſhould decree the printing of the part only that contained facts: but theſe motions were warmly oppoſed by the regicide faction. "You "ought," ſaid *Danton*, "to juſtify to the "univerſe and to poſterity the judgment "you are going to paſs upon a perfidious, "forſworn King, and tyrant. On ſuch an "occaſion you are not to conſider the ex-"pence of printing." His opinion was adopted by the majority of the Aſſembly. The villains, who had determined upon ſacrificing the King, had no need of proofs to condemn him; they were convinced that they would find none, and that the credulity of the

the people required no other than violent declamations, and the aſſertion conſtantly repeated, eſpecially if printed, that *Louis* XVI. was guilty of the greateſt crimes. *Valazé*'s report was conformable to theſe principles, and it was, no doubt, to ſecond the effect of it that in the ſame Sitting, *Bazire*, who was charged to give an account to the Aſſembly in the name of the Committee of General Safety, of the cauſes that might diſturb the tranquillity of Paris, read a long memorial, which, from firſt to laſt, was merely the moſt ſtrenuous apology for the conduct of the Pariſians, in all the circumſtances, and in all the outrages of the Revolution; and the moſt atrocious declaration againſt the King, whom that monſter, as ſtupid as he was furious, dared to deſignate by the horrid term of the *Royal Tiger*. The groſſneſs of his falſehoods yielded in nothing to that of his inſults. Would it be believed, had it not been heard, had it not been read in all the newſpapers, that this man had the effrontery to aſſert as an important diſcovery, as a fact clear and aſcertained, "that the principal "actors in the maſſacres of the 2d of Sep-"tember were the ſervants of the Princeſs

" *de Lamballe*, who, going to the priſons " armed and diſguiſed as *Sans-culottes*, " had with their own hands cut the throats " of a number of the priſoners with un- " paralleled fury and atrocity, that they " might acquire credit enough among the " populace to ſave the life of their miſtreſs; " that their example had been followed by " the friends and ſervants of ſeveral other " priſoners, and that the good Pariſians, to " whom thoſe crimes had been imputed, " had alone the glory of putting an end to " them; that in reſpect to the maſſacre of " the priſoners of Orleans, it was equally " certain that it had been executed by people " attached to the Queen's ſervice, that they " had been obſerved at the head of the " mob at Verſailles;" &c. After a con- ſiderable debate, the Aſſembly decreed, that this report ſhould not be printed; but it was publiſhed in all the newſpapers, and did not produce the leſs effect. They *really* believed that the Royaliſts had been cutting one another's throats, as they had believed, at the beginning of the Revolution, that the Ariſtocrats burnt their own houſes to calum- niate the people.

The Aſſembly, without waiting for new heads

heads of impeachment againſt the King, or new proofs in ſupport of thoſe *Valazé* had drawn up, attended, the very next day, to a long report made by *Mailhe*, in the name of the Committee of Legiſlation, on theſe queſtions; whether *Louis* XVI. can be tried? by whom? and in what form?

" The firſt of theſe queſtions," ſaid the Reporter in his outſet, " is the ſimpleſt " of all, and yet it is that which requires " the ampleſt diſcuſſion, not for you, not " for the great majority of the French nation, " who have made themſelves acquainted " with the whole extent of their Sove- " reignty, but, for the ſmall number of thoſe " who ſtill think that they diſcover in the " Conſtitution impunity for *Louis* XVI. " and who expect a ſolution of their doubts; " for the nations that are ſtill governed by " Kings, and whom you are to inſtruct; " and for the generality of mankind who " are contemplating you, who are agitated " between the deſire and the dread of pu- " niſhing their tyrants, and who will per- " haps determine only according to the " opinion they ſhall form of your juſtice."

Thus did theſe regicide demagogues, ſetting themſelves up for the inſtructors and

patterns of mankind, give them, as their firſt leſſon of juſtice, the ſight of a virtuous Monarch, dethroned by an inſurrection of brigands, impriſoned ere accuſed, brought to trial before any real offence had been eſtabliſhed, or even drawn up againſt him, and without any proofs having been made of the moſt indifferent actions, with which he had been reproached as crimes. But let us not ſtop at theſe firſt outrages, however ſerious they are; let us, without entering uſeleſsly into a methodical and circumſtantial diſcuſſion of the report of the Committee of Legiſlation, confine ourſelves to a brief examination of the chief queſtion which it preſented; *Can* Louis *XVI. be tried for the crimes which he is charged with having committed on the Conſtitutional Throne?* Let us in the firſt place call to mind the inconteſtable principles, according to which this queſtion ſhould be decided.

Among all civilized nations, the function the moſt auguſt, for it is one of the attributes of the Divinity, the function of judging, conſiſts in exerciſing, conformably to the law, a power which the law confers; for no one has a right to ſet himſelf up as the Judge of another. Violence has ſometimes

times uſurped this power, but it has never rendered it lawful; and it is then but the juſtice of the tiger or the panther, judging, condemning, and devouring his prey.

We muſt firſt, then, ſeek in the archives of the Monarchy for ſome Conſtitutional law that has defined the offences of which a King can be guilty, that has ſettled the puniſhment to be annexed to each of thoſe crimes, pointed out the Court before which the King ſhould be amenable, and determined the form in which he ſhould be tried. The ancient laws of the kingdom had determined nothing on this head; it had never been foreſeen that the King could ever be in a ſituation to be tried, or even accuſed by his ſubjects. It was not till after the meeting in 1789 of the States-General, who had given the moſt criminal blows to the Royal dignity, that the Aſſembly gave it the laſt ſtab in determining without authority, by the pretended Conſtitutional act of 1791, the different crimes that a King could commit, and the puniſhment to be annexed to each of them; and in forcing *Louis* XVI. to accept this new Conſtitution, or abdicate the Throne. But, in ſhort, it was only in this act, conſidered as the law of the State, that

that the Aſſembly could look for the ſolution of the queſtion which had been preſented to them by their Committee of Legiſlation; and there they would have found that the perſon of the Monarch was inviolable and ſacred, and that the only offences aſcribed to the King, which could give room for an impeachment and a trial, were fixed and limited in theſe terms: *If the King does not take the oath preſcribed, or if, after having taken it, he retracts it; if he puts himſelf at the head of an army, and directs the forces of it againſt the nation, or if he does not oppoſe by a formal act any ſuch enterpriſe carried on in his name; if having gone out of the kingdom, he does not return after being called upon by the Legiſlative Body, and within a determined time, he ſhall be judged in any of theſe caſes to have abdicated the Crown.* Now, none of theſe crimes were in the number of thoſe of which *Louis* XVI. was accuſed; it was therefore demonſtratively evident that *Louis* XVI. was not liable to be tried. It might alſo be juſtly maintained, and according to the Conſtitution, that even had *Louis* XVI. been really guilty of all the offences which are ſpecified in it,

there

there would have been no grounds for trying him, becauſe his depoſition was the only penalty annexed to all the crimes committed on the Conſtitutional Throne; and that penalty *Louis* XVI. had already ſuffered.

The miſerable ſubtilties, paradoxes, and ſophiſms, with which the Committee of Legiſlation combated theſe principles and arguments, proved their ſtrength the more. "The Conſtitution," ſaid the Reporter, *Mailhe*, "had conſecrated deſpotiſm under "the name of hereditary Royalty *; but "the inviolability had been eſtabliſhed only "for the intereſt of the nation, and not for "the intereſt of the King: it had no other "object than to prevent the Legiſlative "Body from uſurping the Executive Power, "and becoming tyrannical in accuſing or "trying the King, in the ſame manner as

* The *deſpotiſm* of a King ſubjected to depoſition! Of a King always in the preſence of a Legiſlative Body, whom he could neither prorogue nor diſſolve! Of a King who could employ only reſponſible agents, who were cited, denounced, impeached, on the ſlighteſt pretences! Of a King deſtitute of all means of enforcing obedience from any of his ſubjects; of preventing or repreſſing the inſults and outrages of the vileſt among them againſt his perſon, and in his very Palace!

"the

" the object of the inviolability of the Le-
" giſlative Body was to prevent the uſurpa-
" tions and enterpriſes of the Executive
" Power. As this reciprocal inviolability
" with which the two Powers checked each
" other exiſted but for the intereſt of the
" nation, it cannot be oppoſed to it, and
" conſequently vaniſhes before the National
" Convention, ſolemnly inveſted with all
" the rights, with all the powers, and with
" the plenitude of the ſovereignty of the
" nation. Here all difficulties diſappear;
" here the Royal inviolability is as if it had
" never exiſted. *Louis* XVI. had received
" it only to defend the nation; he made uſe
" of it only to oppreſs them. It cannot be
" objected that he has been tried and pu-
" niſhed by the deprivation of the Conſti-
" tutional ſceptre. Were the Conſtitution
" to have been continued, and the Legiſla-
" tive Body to have pronounced the depoſi-
" tion, it would then have been a penalty
" inflicted, and the Conſtitution would
" have reſiſted any farther penalty: but the
" nation, who have the *impreſcriptible*
" right of changing their Conſtitution,
" have appointed us to form a new one.
" You have not pronounced the depoſition of

" *Louis*

" *Louis* XVI.; you have aboliſhed Roy-
" alty, not becauſe the King was guilty,
" but becauſe there is no liberty without
" equality, nor equality without a Repub-
" lic. You have not then tried *Louis* XVI.;
" you did not deprive him of Royalty: he
" very naturally ceaſed to be King on the
" firſt ſpring of the nation towards a Re-
" publican Conſtitution. You will per-
" haps be put in mind, that according to
" the rights of man no one can be puniſhed
" but by virtue of a law paſſed and pro-
" mulgated prior to the crime, and legally
" applied. You will be aſked where the
" law is that can be applied to the crimes
" of which *Louis* XVI. is arraigned? It
" is in the penal code; it is the law that
" puniſhes the corruption of public func-
" tionaries, the law that reaches traitors and
" conſpirators. In vain ſhall it be ſaid that
" theſe laws, being the ſequel and execu-
" tion of the Conſtitutional Act, are not
" applicable to the crimes of a King whom
" that Act declares inviolable. This Royal
" prerogative, which the Authorities eſta-
" bliſhed by the Conſtitution ſhould reſpect,
" is null before the nation, and conſequently
" before the National Convention. When

" Don

" Don *Henry* was tried, and ignominiouſly
" degraded by the States of Caſtille; when
" *Jane* of Naples was proſecuted for the
" murder of her huſband; when the French
" Kings, cited before Aſſemblies of Biſhops
" and Lords who called themſelves the
" Repreſentatives of the Nation, were de-
" poſed and condemned to have their hair
" cut off, and to paſs the reſt of their lives
" in a convent; when Don *Alphonſo* and a
" ſon of *Guſtavus Vaſa* were declared to
" have forfeited the Throne and deprived of
" their liberty, the former by the States of
" Portugal, and the latter by the States of
" Sweden; when *Charles* I. loſt his head
" on a ſcaffold *; when all theſe Princes,
" and many others, expiated their crimes
" by a ſhameful and tragical end, there
" were no expreſs laws that ſpecified the
" puniſhment to be inflicted on guilty

* All theſe examples, in oppoſition to the Conſtitutions of the countries which have furniſhed them, were ſo many violent acts committed in the convulſions of anarchy. The wiſdom of nations ſoon envelopes in a mournful veil theſe enormities of violence and cruelty, and depoſits them, not in a code of laws, but in the memory of men, as a uſeful leſſon, and objects of everlaſting regret.

" Kings;

" Kings; but it is inherent in the very na-
" ture of national ſovereignty, to ſupply,
" if neceſſary, the want of written laws,
" and to diſplay the means of the vengeance
" due to the violation of its firſt ſocial act,
" or to apply to the crimes of Kings the
" puniſhments annexed to the crimes of the
" other citizens."

The extreme indignation excited by barely reading theſe arguments, and theſe examples applied to *Louis* XVI. renders it unneceſſary for me to refute them. I will alſo paſs over in ſilence the invitation given by *Mailhe* to all nations *, to follow the example of France in regard to their reſpective Sovereigns, and all the part of the Report tending to prove that *Louis* XVI. ought to be tried by the Convention; and that the King could object to no Member without failing in duty to the nation, and rebelling againſt their ſovereignty: I ſhall content

* This mad demagogue puſhed his fury ſo far, as to point out in a manner to the Spaniards and Auſtrians the ſteps they ought to take to put the King of Spain and the Emperor on their trial; and he entered into a long detail of the grievances that ought to compoſe the articles of the impeachments.

myſelf

myſelf with ſtating the plan for the decree which was propoſed by the Reporter in the name of the Committee, whoſe organ he was:

1ſt. *Louis* XVI. may be tried.

2dly. He ſhall be tried by the National Convention.

3dly. Three Commiſſioners choſen by the Aſſembly ſhall be charged to collect all the vouchers and documents relative to the crimes of which *Louis* XVI. is accuſed.

4thly. Theſe Commiſſioners ſhall proceed with and conclude the Report declaratory of the crimes that ſhall be charged to *Louis* XVI.

5thly. If this act is adopted, it ſhall be printed and communicated to *Louis* XVI. and his Counſel, if he chooſes to appoint any.

6thly. The originals of the documents above mentioned ſhall, if *Louis* XVI. demands a ſight of them, be carried to the Temple, collated copies being firſt taken to remain in the Archives; and afterwards the originals ſhall be brought back to the National Archives by twelve Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly, who ſhall neither part with them, or ſuffer them to be taken out of their ſight.

7thly.

7thly. The National Convention ſhall appoint a day for *Louis* XVI. to appear before them.

8thly. *Louis* XVI. or his Counſel ſhall give in his defence in writing, ſigned by himſelf, or ſhall make it verbally.

9thly. The National Convention ſhall pronounce their judgment by a call of votes.

The Reporter deſcended from the Tribune amidſt the reiterated plaudits of the Aſſembly and of the crowd of villains who that day filled all the galleries. Their curioſity, as ſtupid as ferocious, anticipated the delightful ſight of a King dragged as a criminal to the Bar, to be tried and condemned by their peers and companions, the accomplices of their crimes.

The Aſſembly did not content themſelves with ordering that an immenſe impreſſion of this Report ſhould be printed, and ſent to the Departments, Municipalities, and armies, but alſo decreed that it ſhould be tranſlated into all languages, for the inſtruction and edification of the people of every country. When brigands, after they have exerciſed on the highways the omnipotence, the ſovereignty of force, deliberate in their caves on the fate of the unfortunate travellers

whom they have ſtopped and robbed, the fear of being informed againſt may determine them to take away their lives; but in committing that crime, to which the care of themſelves induce them, they do not call upon the whole world to witneſs their wiſdom, they have no pretenſions to give mankind a leſſon of juſtice, they do not invite them to follow their example. This unheard-of exceſs of atrocious hypocriſy, effrontery, and wickedneſs, was reſerved for the Convention. For form ſake they adjourned the diſcuſſion of the decree propoſed by the Committee of Legiſlation for four days. From the great applauſe it had obtained, there could be no doubt of its being adopted; but it was of conſequence that it ſhould have a great majority, and the regicide faction did not fail to employ on the occaſion the manœuvres beſt calculated to bring over to them all thoſe on whom terror could operate. Newſpapers and pamphlets without number proclaimed beforehand the cowards who ſhould not give their opinion with energy on the trial of the King, as ſuſpected of Royaliſm and Counter-revolutionary ſentiments; and called down the popular vengeance on the head of thoſe who

who ſhould dare to propoſe an opinion contrary to that of the Committee of Legiſlation. *Petion*, ſtill held forth as the beſt friend, the confidant and faithful organ of the people, publiſhed on this occaſion a long dull ſpeech, which he ſaid he meant to have delivered on the affair of *Robeſpierre*, if the debate had not been cloſed before he could be heard. It contained the following remarkable expreſſions:

" I ſee at preſent no cauſe, except ſo ex-
" traordinary a one as that of the King's
" trial, ſhould the deciſion be contrary to
" the public opinion, that can occaſion a
" ſerious commotion*. Legiſlators, I de-
" clare to you, that there are at this very
" moment baſe ſlaves bold enough to think
" of raiſing your fallen tyrants. An in-
" tereſt is given to their perſons; their fate
" is pitied; their crimes are errors imputed
" to perfidious counſels. Generoſity, it is
" ſaid, is the virtue of a great nation; ob-
" livion of the paſt will enſure us happi-
" neſs for the future; we ſhall have peace
" abroad and plenty at home: theſe ideas

* See *Petion*'s ſpeech in the Moniteur of November 10, 1792, page 1336.

" are circulating in letters, they are ſpread-
" ing. It is ſaid that both art and force are
" to be employed at once, to favour the
" execution of the project; a popular com-
" motion is talked of, and the eaſe of tak-
" ing advantage of it. I have received no-
" tice upon notice of the manufacturing of
" arms intended only for the uſe of the vil-
" lains. Foreigners are within our walls,
" and appear to be paid by our enemies."

It was not on the Commune of Paris that the ſuſpicions of pity for the Royal Family could fall; and we may reckon, among the moſt horrible prodigies of the Revolution, that long ſucceſſion of Municipal Officers more and more atrocious, who for five months were renewed every twenty-four hours at the Temple, where they vied with each other in ſignalizing their patriotiſm, and in increaſing daily in brutality and barbarity towards their Majeſties. Six Deputies of the Committee of General Safety, among whom was the Poſtmaſter of Varennes, who ſtopped the Royal Family in 1791, had been ſent to the Temple on the 1ſt of November, to aſcertain the manner in which the priſoners were guarded and treated, and they had given an account of their Com-

miſſion to the Miniſter of the Interior, from which it appeared that their Majeſties complained of nothing reſpecting their table or their lodging; that they deſired that the ſum they might expend every month ſhould be fixed, that they might not exceed it; and that they ſhould have a fund of two thouſand livres for their common daily expences; that they requeſted to be allowed a phyſician and an apothecary ſufficiently acquainted with their Conſtitutions to give them proper medicines; and that they ſhould be ſupplied with furniture and linen, of which they were in great need, and which was to be found at the Garde-meuble. This account being ſent by the Miniſter to the Council-General of the Commune, was read in their Sitting of the 7th of November, and upon the ſimple aſſertion of one of the Municipal Officers, that the priſoners wanted for nothing, the Council paſſed to the order of the day *.

At

* The King, on being removed to one of the apartments of the Tower newly repaired, caught a great cold in his head. His valet-de-chambre, *Clery*, repeatedly, but fruitleſsly, for three days applied to the Municipa-

At this period, during the perpetration of theſe crimes, and while the faction were employing manœuvres preparatory to the moſt execrable of all, *Dumourier* gained the famous battle of Gemappe, and wrote to the Aſſembly as follows: "Our ſucceſs "ſtill ſtrengthens our arguments, and now "are reaſon and juſtice ſupported by arms: "40,000 French have defeated 28,000 "Auſtrians*, entrenched in woods and "upon mountains, defended by more than "forty redoubts, twenty pieces of heavy "artillery, and a great number of field "pieces and howitzers. All the preceding "battles were to our advantage, but the "battle of Gemappe has decided every "thing: it was one of the moſt general "ever fought, and the moſt terrible in the "memory of man. All the points of the "line and of the flanks of the enemy were

lity for permiſſion to bring M. *Monnier*, his Majeſty's phyſician, to the Temple: it was not granted till a fever came on. (See *Clery*'s Journal, page 117, French edit. and page 126, Engliſh edit.)

* The Auſtrian army had 19,000 men at the battle of Gemappe.

"attacked

" attacked at once; every regiment in the " army was engaged, every man fought. " After a very obſtinate reſiſtance, the " French army everywhere triumphed by " their two ſtrongeſt means, the cannon " and the bayonet."

The news of this victory was brought to the Convention by one of *Dumourier*'s aid-de-camps. After the diſpatch of which he was the bearer had been read and applauded with the livelieſt rapture, he addreſſed the Aſſembly thus:—" I am no orator; a ſol-" dier of the Republican army ſhould only " open his mouth to bite his cartridge; but I " preſent to the Aſſembly for their juſt ad-" miration, *Dumourier*'s valet-de-chambre, " the brave *Baptiſte*, who, after rallying " five ſquadrons and three battalions, was " the firſt to leap ſword in hand into an in-" trenchment which he forced. When the " General aſked him to mention what re-" ward he deſired, *Baptiſte* replied, *the* " *honour of wearing the National uni-*" *form.*" The heroic valet-de-chambre, to whom *Dumourier* in his Memoirs* principally aſcribed the ſucceſs of the battle of

* Vol. III. page 304.

Gemappe, was immediately introduced at the Bar, and received with innumerable acclamations and plaudits. The aid-de-camp, his introducer and panegyriſt, embraced him again and again; the Preſident overwhelmed him with eulogiums, and was authorized by a decree to give him the fraternal kiſs, in teſtimony of the nation's gratitude. The Convention likewiſe decreed, that Citizen *Baptiſte* ſhould be armed, mounted, and equipped at the expence of the French Republic, and that the Miniſter of War ſhould authorize General *Dumourier* to employ him in his army. He was raiſed a few days after to the rank of an officer*.

The

* *Dumourier*, in his official letter to the Miniſter, aſcribed a great ſhare of the honour of the day of Gemappe to the cool courage with which Lieutenant General *Egalité* (the Duke *de Chartres*) had rallied the centre columns, and forced through the village of Gemappe.

In the ſame Sitting a decree of impeachment was paſſed againſt General *Monteſquiou*, for having deceived the Legiſlative Body reſpecting the force of the enemy, waſted the funds of the State by fraudulent agreements, and committed the intereſts and dignity of the nation by the ſhameful conventions he had made with the Republic of Geneva.

A decree

The enthuſiaſm of the Aſſembly did not confine itſelf here; they were on the point of decreeing an annual National feſtival to perpetuate the memory of the victory at Gemappe, the firſt which the Republican armies had gained in a pitched battle; but the fear that ſuch an honour paid to *Dumourier*'s army might create jealouſy and diſcontent in the other armies, cauſed a preference to be given to a motion for celebrating only one feſtival, and that in honour of the victories of the armies of the Republic*.

The very day after the battle of Gemappe, Mons opened its gates to *Dumourier*. After the diſpatches announcing theſe ſuc-

A decree of impeachment alſo paſſed againſt the Miniſter *La Coſte* on the ſame day, on abſurd and unſubſtantial denunciations.

* *Barrere* wiſhed that they would confine themſelves to funereal games. "What!" ſaid he, "thouſands of "men have periſhed, for the Auſtrians are men, it is "only Kings that are not of the human ſpecies; three "hundred Frenchmen have periſhed, and we talk of "feaſts!"—"Before we inſtitute a National feaſt," ſaid *La Source*, "let us ſtay till we are ſurrounded by "free nations, then we ſhall celebrate the feaſt of the "univerſe."

ceſſes

ceſſes were read, the Duke of *Orleans*; (*Egalité* aſcended the Tribune. "Citi-" zens!" ſaid he, "I call for your attention, "that I may tell you what the modeſty of "General *Dumourier* has made him paſs "over in ſilence, in his narrative, which "is, that after rallying his right, he "marched himſelf at the head of the regi-"ments which ſucceſſively carried all the "redoubts by the point of the bayonet*." The Aſſembly, pleaſed to hear the Duke of *Orleans* thus rendering to *Dumourier* a part of the glory which the General had aſcribed to the Duke *de Chartres*, beſtowed the greateſt applauſe on this act of juſtice. This was the firſt time the Duke of *Orleans* had opened his mouth in the Convention, and, unfortunately for him, it was not the laſt†.

At

* Do not all theſe rallyings of the right by *Dumourier*, of the left by his valet-de-chambre, and of the centre by the Duke *de Chartres*, prove that the French army was within an ace of being beaten, notwithſtanding its immenſe ſuperiority in number?

† He ſpoke a ſecond time in the Convention to requeſt that his daughter, and Madame *de Sillery* her governeſs, might not be included in the liſt of Emigrants. Although this ſpeech is not one of his greateſt crimes, it muſt not remain unknown; it is as follows:

At this period I left Paris, having remained concealed there for more than two months after

" Citizens! you have paſſed a law againſt the cowards " who have fled from their country in the moment of " danger, againſt the conſpirators who have taken up " arms to deſtroy it. You have generaliſed this law as " much as poſſible, in order that it might not be ren- " dered nugatory by a multiplicity of exceptions, and " a crowd of criminals eſcape its ſeverity; but the " circumſtance I am going to lay before you is ſo pecu- " liar, that I think it the only one of the kind. My " daughter, who is fifteen years old, went to England " in the month of October 1791, with the Citoyenne " *Brulart Sillery* her inſtructreſs, and two companions " brought up with her from their infancy by the " Citoyenne *Sillery*; one of them is the Citoyenne " *Henriette Sercey*, her niece, and the other the " Citoyenne *Pamela Seymour*, naturaliſed ſeveral years " ago. The Citoyenne *Brulart Sillery* has ſuperintended " the education of all my children; and the manner in " which they have conducted themſelves proves, that " ſhe has early trained them to liberty and Republican " virtues. The Engliſh language forms a part of the " education ſhe has given my daughter; and one of the " motives for her going to England was, to improve " her in the knowledge, and particularly in the pro- " nunciation of that language. Another motive was " the weak ſtate of health of the child, who ſtood in " need of diſſipation, and of taking the waters recom- " mended to her. Another motive, in ſhort, and that not " the leaſt powerful, was to withdraw her from the

" influence

after the 10th of Auguſt. The ſtrict ſearch that was made for me had determined me to take

" influence of the principles of a woman who, no
" doubt, is very eſtimable, but whoſe opinions on the
" preſent ſtate of things have not always been con-
" formable to mine. While my daughter was detained
" in England by theſe powerful reaſons, her brothers
" were in the armies. I have been conſtantly with them
" or with you; and, I may ſay, that I and my chil-
" dren are not the Citizens who would have been leaſt
" in danger if the cauſe of liberty had not triumphed.
" It is impoſſible, it is abſurd in every point of view,
" to conſider my daughter's journey as an emigration:
" it is impoſſible, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe ſhe had the
" ſlighteſt intention, nay a thought of emigrating. I
" am very ſenſible that the law in this inſtance is inap-
" plicable; but the ſlighteſt doubt is enough to alarm
" a father: I therefore beg you, Citizens, to relieve
" my anxiety. Were you, which is impoſſible, I can-
" not believe it—but, in ſhort, were you to ſtrike my
" daughter with the rigour of the law, however cruel
" the decree to me, the feelings of nature ſhould not
" ſtifle the duties of a Citizen, and by removing my
" daughter from her country in obedience to the law, I
" would again prove the value I attach to that title,
" which I prefer to all."

This requeſt, made to the Aſſembly in the Sitting of November 21, was referred to the Committee of Legiſlation; and, in conſequence of it, an exception in favour of children of the age of Mademoiſelle *Orleans*, who

take refuge in England, where I arrived in the end of the month of October. After having had the good fortune of thus ſhielding my life from all the dangers that threatened it, the King's ſituation, and the means of preſerving my fortune for my family, were the ſole objects that occupied my mind. The compoſition of the New Aſſembly, and the audacity and wickedneſs they had already manifeſted, left no doubt that they would proceed to the trial of *Louis* XVI. as ſoon as they had ſufficiently prepared the minds of the people for that crime. But before I ſtood forth in the defence of that unfortunate Monarch, it was neceſſary to know the principal grounds of the attack which was to be directed againſt him; and I thought that in the mean-time, till the infernal plan of the regicides were developed, all my efforts ſhould be confined to endeavouring to keep opinion in ſuſpenſe, by declaring that I had communications of great importance to make, ſupported by authentic evidence. This in fact was the object I had in view in

who had left France for their education, was added to the decree paſſed a few days after againſt the Emigrants.

the

the letter which I wrote to the Aſſembly on the 6th of November 1792, on the ſubject of my emigration, printed copies of which I ſent to all the Deputies, to all the Departments, and to the principal Municipalities of the Kingdom*.

* See my Private Memoirs, Vol. III. page 377.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Charge of Salaries being paid to Emigrants refuted—Debate upon the King's being amenable to Trial—Speech of St. Juſt—The Debate ſuſpended—M. M. de Cazalez, de Lally Tollendal, and Malouet demand to be admitted among the Defenders of the King—Addreſſes from Clubs in England to the Convention—Papers found in the Iron-Preſs in the Thuilleries—Debate on the King's Trial renewed—Le Fort's Speech—The Convention informed of a Victory gained by Dumourier over the Auſtrians, and of the

the Surrender of Antwerp—The infamous Commune of Paris, before their Diſſolution, preſent a Petition to the Aſſembly for the Death of the King—Speech of Robeſpierre for the King's Death without a Trial—The Trial decreed—Freſh Documents produced againſt the King—Motion for removing Mirabeau's Body from the Pantheon, and for breaking his Buſt—Plan for the King's Trial—Letters found in the Iron-Preſs relative to Dumourier.

AS ſoon as I came to the knowledge of the two reports, made to the Convention on the 6th and 7th of November by *Dufriche*, *Valazé*, and *Mailhe*, I referred to the notes which I had preſerved and brought away with me, and put together all thoſe facts that appeared to me the moſt likely to juſtify the King with reſpect to the ſeveral articles of accuſation drawn up againſt him, and to leſſen the impreſſion they were calculated to make upon the public opinion. I tranſmitted theſe facts to the Convention in my ſecond letter, and pointed out all thoſe teſtimonies, or rather authentic proofs which

which might tend to ſubſtantiate the truth of them.

M. *de Septeuil*, Treaſurer of the Civil Liſt, likewiſe addreſſed to the Aſſembly a depoſition, drawn up by a notary, and corroborated by an affidavit made before the Lord Mayor of London, in which he depoſed that no ſalaries whatever had been payed to the Life-guards, or to perſons belonging to the King's late houſehold, without their certificates of reſidence having been produced at the ſame time, notwithſtanding that thoſe who had emigrated and thoſe who had not, were indiſcriminately included in the ſtatements laid before the Aſſembly by the reporter; that thoſe ſtatements, which had been drawn up upon this principle, and which indeed was the moſt eligible method of making them out, there being no certain and legal mode of aſcertaining the emigration of individuals mentioned therein, were ſo far from proving that Emigrants had received any pay, that they proved the direct contrary, ſince no entry had been made of their ſalaries otherwiſe than as memorandums merely, the monies ſtill remaining in the bank of the Civil Liſt, as the banker's books would prove: theſe arrangements,

moreover, were entirely conformable to the ſpirit and letter of the decrees, having been ſo made in conſequence of an expreſs order from the King, ſent through the hands of M. *de la Porte* to the Treaſurer of the Civil Liſt. M. *de Septeuil* alſo made as ſtrong an atteſtation of the purchaſes of corn, ſugar, and coffee, having been all made without the King's being in the remoteſt degree acquainted with any part of the procedure, and having all taken place in the courſe of an individual ſpeculation in trade, wherein himſelf (*Septeuil*), in conjunction with ſome of his friends, had embarked their own property.

The Chevalier *de Graves*, late Miniſter at War, at the ſame time ſent the Aſſembly a declaration, juſtifying ſome circumſtances which related to his Department.

M. *de Narbonne*, his predeceſſor, with the moſt gallant devotion, publiſhed a letter, declaring himſelf ready to come forward, and be anſwerable for every charge brought againſt his Majeſty; he even ſent an invitation to the late Miniſters of France, who were then in London, to make the ſame propoſal; but, after having maturely reflected upon his project, it appeared to us

altogether as viſionary as it was uſeleſs, becauſe we were of courſe reſponſible perſonally for what was done in our own Departments; and, beſides, we had no reaſon to flatter ourſelves that it would be accepted for charges that in no wiſe related to thoſe Departments with which we were entruſted. Nevertheleſs, we retained a juſt ſenſe of the generous ſentiment which had in this caſe doubtleſs actuated the mind of M. *de Narbonne.*

I gave ſtill more publicity to my ſecond letter than to my firſt; for, beſides the fifteen hundred copies which were printed in London and circulated in France, two editions more of it were alſo printed and diſtributed in Paris in the ſame week*.

The ardour and intereſt with which every publication in behalf of the King was read, increaſed daily, and ſo much buoyed up the hopes of the Royaliſts, that the Convention, uncertain as to the real diſpoſition of the people, had prudence enough to lengthen out the King's trial. They decreed that all ſpeeches delivered upon this ſubject ſhould be printed, whence it followed, that it was

* See my Private Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 403.

neceſſary to digeſt them with ſufficient care to render them capable of bearing the printing, and eſpecially the reading. This arrangement proved a long and difficult operation to perſons who were as little practiſed in public ſpeaking, as were almoſt all the Members of the Convention*. The Aſſembly ſeldom heard more than two at a Sitting, and ſometimes not a ſingle ſpeech was made for many days together, yet there was no other queſtion before them than to decide whether the King were amenable to trial or not.

The diſcuſſion opened on the 13th of November: the deputies *Moriſſon* and *Fauchet* ſpoke in favour of the King's inviolability, but did not fail to load him with abuſe, declaiming in the moſt vehement manner againſt all thoſe crimes, thoſe acts of perfidy and wickedneſs of which they had the audacity to maintain he had rendered himſelf guilty. *St. Juſt* and *Robert*, who ſpoke in the ſame Sitting, furiouſly combated all idea of inviolability, not contenting them-

* Almoſt all thoſe who had not been deputies in the preceding Aſſemblies were nothing more than factious madmen from Provincial Clubs.

ſelves

ſelves with pretending that *Louis* XVI. could be brought to trial, they even declared that he could lawfully be put to death without any trial whatever. "*Cæſar*," exclaimed *St. Juſt*, "was ſacrificed in "full Senate, and without any other for- "mality than twenty-two ſtabs by dag- "gers; but, in this our day, a regular and "reſpectful proceſs is obſerved with regard "to a man who made himſelf the aſſaſſin "of a whole people, who has been appre- "hended in the moſt flagrant ſtate of crimi- "nality, in the very inſtant of commiſſion, "nay, whilſt his hand was yet wet with "the blood he had ſhed! Whoever would "attach any importance to the trial of a "King will never ſucceed in founding a "Republic: What! ſay they, try a King "as you would a common citizen!—True, "this may have a fearful ſound in the ears of "calm poſterity. To bring to trial is to apply "the law—a law is an application of juſtice; "but what application of this ſort can be "obtained between humanity and Kings? "Some ſuch generous ſpirit as could thus "liberally reaſon, would perhaps at another "time obſerve, that a King ought to be "brought to trial, not for the crimes of

" his Government, but becauſe he is guilty
" of being a King, for nothing in the
" world can eſtabliſh a claim to ſuch an
" uſurpation; and with whatſoever illu-
" ſions, with whatſoever compacts Royalty
" may clothe itſelf, it bears with it an
" eternal exiſtence of crimes, againſt which
" every man has a natural right to oppoſe
" and arm himſelf. No one can reign and
" remain innocent. Every King is a rebel
" againſt the people, and an uſurper of
" their rights. It is impoſſible to try a
" King according to the laws of his coun-
" try. There was no exiſting principle in
" the laws of Numa by which *Tarquin*
" could be tried; neither could *Charles* I.
" of England be tried by the laws of that
" people; both were tried according to the
" right of nations; a foreigner was repelled,
" an enemy was got rid of, and this it was
" that juſtified the procedure. It was ex-
" pedient—it was therefore lawful."

In the following Sitting only two ſpeakers appeared in the Tribune, *Roſet* and *Gregoire*; the former ſpoke in favour of the King's inviolability, the latter maintained the ſame opinion with *St. Juſt*: this, however, was not the ſentiment of the public.

The

The Democratic party themſelves were divided; they were unanimous only upon the point of abolition of Royalty: but all thoſe who had precipitately united themſelves to this party, leſs indeed through deliberate wickedneſs than fanataciſm, thought the death of *Louis* XVI. was not neceſſary to conſolidate the Republic, and felt a repugnance to the committing an unprofitable crime. The regicide faction, aware of the neceſſity for adjourning the further proſecution of their diabolical deſign until the mind of the public ſhould be better prepared for it, directed all their efforts to this purpoſe*; and the diſcuſſion upon the trial of the King was ſuſpended for a fortnight. In the interim, the greater part of the Sittings of the Convention was taken up, either with the various reports made by their Committees reſpecting the corn trade, the regulations of the Police relative to the neceſſaries of life, the great number of fraudulent bargains made with thoſe who ſupplied the markets,

* The Capital was more than ever inundated with wicked and ſanguinary pamphlets, and a crowd of addreſſes arrived from the Provincial Clubs, all demanding the trial and death of the King.

the incorporation of Savoy with France, the Emigrants, &c.; or in reading the addreſſes brought up from the Provinces, the correſpondence of the Generals, and the capitulations of the cities in Brabant, which ſurrendered to *Dumourier* without the leaſt reſiſtance.

The decree propoſed by the Committee of Legiſlation concerning the trial of *Louis* XVI. leaving him at liberty to appoint his own counſel, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers of the Firſt Aſſembly, and eſpecially Meſſieurs *Cazalez*, *de Lally-Tolendal*, and *Malouet*, made an expreſs demand to be admitted amongſt the number of thoſe who had undertaken his Majeſty's defence*. Although there was but little probability of their demand being attended to, Meſſ. *Malouet* and *Lally* anxiouſly prepared their arguments. That of M. *Malouet* being finiſhed in a very few days, and appearing to me likely to produce a very

* The letter which M. *Malouet* wrote on this occaſion was read, on the 20th of November, in the Convention, who, in anſwer to it, paſſed a decree, that his name ſhould be placed in the liſt of Emigrants, if not already inſcribed!

advantageous ſenſation in Paris, and throughout the kingdom, I had it printed, and ſent 2000 copies of it into France; ſome I tranſmitted to the Departments, and ſome to the principal Municipalities; I added alſo an addreſs to the citizens, admirably well written by the Chevalier *de Graves*, and printed at my expence.

Theſe different papers contained much information that might be of uſe to the King before his examination, as they furniſhed the moſt ſolid refutation of all the charges which the reports of *Mailhe* and *Valazé* had thrown out againſt him: I therefore made a packet of them, which I ſuperſcribed, *Papers for the defence of* Louis *XVI.* and directed it to the Miniſter of Juſtice (*Garat*), with a formal requiſition, that it might be forwarded to his Majeſty. The ſame packet encloſed a copy of the declaration of the Chevalier *de Graves*, and of one which the Marquis *de Bouillé* had made reſpecting the journey to Varennes, and the purpoſes to which the money ordered by the King to be remitted to him upon that occaſion had been applied. To the great ſcandal of England, who felt herſelf ſhocked on the occaſion, there were ſeen amongſt

among the different petitions which the Aſſembly received from the Jacobin Club, and from ſome of the Communes, upon the affair of the King's trial, ſeveral addreſſes and deputations of ſome Engliſh and Iriſh who were then at Paris, and of two Revolutionary Clubs recently eſtabliſhed in London; the one called *the Conſtitutional Society*, the other, the Society *of the Friends of the Revolution of* 1688. The purpoſe of theſe deputations was to celebrate the ſucceſs of the French armies, to congratulate the National Convention upon events which afforded ſo favourable a preſage for all thoſe nations who were willing to become free, and whoſe hope it was, *that the ſoldiers of liberty would not lay down their arms until there no longer exiſted either tyrants or ſlaves in all the world.*

The ſpeaker of the deputation from the *Conſtitutional Society* announced, "that "many Societies ſimilar to their own were "actually forming in every part of Eng-"land, who made it their ſtudy to ſearch "out the abuſes of Government, and the "means of remedying them; that after the "example which France had recently given,

"Revo-

" Revolutions would become of eaſy ac-
" compliſhment, and it would not be at
" all extraordinary if, in a ſhort time,
" congratulations ſhould be ſent to a Na-
" tional Convention in England; we are alſo
" commiſſioned," ſaid he, " to inform you,
" that the Society we repreſent have ſent to
" Calais a thouſand pair of ſhoes, which
" they offer as a patriotic gift to the ſoldiers
" of liberty, and every week a thouſand
" pair will continue to be ſent for the ſame
" purpoſe for at leaſt the next ſix weeks to
" come." Theſe attentions, and the dona-
tion of ſhoes excited the livelieſt tranſ-
ports of joy in the galleries, and in
the Aſſembly: and the anſwers which
Gregoire, who was Preſident for that day,
made to theſe deputations were no leſs ap-
plauded than the harangues themſelves.
I will cite only the moſt remarkable paſſages.
" You are here," ſaid he, " in the midſt of
" your brethren. Royalty in Europe is ex-
" tinct, or expiring among its feudal
" ruins; and the declaration of the rights
" of man placed by the ſide of thrones
" ſhall prove a devouring fire, and, ere
" long, conſume them. Worthy Republi-
" cans, rejoice in the thought that the feſti-
" val which you have celebrated in honour

" of

" of the French Revolution, is the begin-
" ning of that of nations. It is more than
" your kindred wiſhes for our ſucceſs,
" which you bring us; the condition of
" our warriors has ſhared your ſolicitude;
" the protectors of our liberty ſhall one day
" be the defenders of yours."

This was an engagement which the Convention had in effect ſolemnly made a week before, having, by a decree on the 19th of November, formally declared, in the name of the French nation, that they would grant fraternity and aid to every people who were anxious to recover their freedom. The ſame decree, which was ordered to be printed and tranſlated into all languages, charged the Executive Power to give the neceſſary inſtructions to their Generals, in order that ſuccours and protection might be afforded to any people, and to all citizens who ſhould have been or were likely to be oppreſſed in their ſtruggles for liberty. But what a period, above all others, was this which theſe popular ſocieties, theſe ſeditious Clubs of London, ſelected as a fit opportunity for homage to be paid by them to the Convention of France! for patriotic gifts to be laid at their feet, and the honour of their fraternity

nity to be requeſted by Engliſhmen! It was at that moment, when the Members of this very Convention were about to ſtain themſelves with the fouleſt of crimes—when England was ſtretching forth her arms to receive with the moſt exalted, the moſt munificent hoſpitality, our exiled Prieſts, our Emigrant Nobility, and every victim of the Revolution. That nation, celebrated throughout the Univerſe, whoſe very aberrations were always marked with ſome noble character; the firſt among modern Powers that triumphed in the eſtabliſhment of political freedom without the effuſion of blood, and conſolidated all its dependencies, by marking out in conſummate wiſdom all its limits, by making it the intereſt of all the Conſtitutional Authorities to defend it from violation, and by inveſting them with an adequate power to preſerve it unimpaired; that nation, which with general accord honoured with her intereſt and her wiſhes the efforts of the Firſt Aſſembly, to give to France a Conſtitution more nearly reſembling her own, deplored as ſincerely as ourſelves thoſe calamities and crimes which followed in the train of that imprudent enterpriſe. Deeply ſympathiſing in the misfortunes

fortunes of *Louis* XVI. whoſe character and virtues ſhe revered, ſhe confeſſed and prized more duly than ever the happineſs of poſſeſſing a good King, and appeared to redouble her reſpect and love for the excellent monarch by whom ſhe is governed *.

At the ſame period (the 20th of November) the Miniſter *Roland* announced to the Convention, as a circumſtance of much importance to the King's trial; the diſcovery of the famous iron preſs, which his Majeſty had ordered to be fixed in one of the walls of his apartment in the Thuilleries, and which was concealed by a pannel of the waiſtcoat. The workman who had conſtructed, and was the only perſon who knew of it, had been baſe enough to betray the matter to the Miniſter, who, without any previous form, unattended by any officer of juſtice, any Commiſſioner, either of the Commune or of the Conven-

* The Britiſh Houſe of Commons on the 20th of December voted an addreſs to the King, moved and ſeconded by Meſſrs. *Fox* and *Sheridan*, expreſſive of the indignation and abhorrence with which the whole kingdom witneſſed the injuſtice and cruelty of the fate that hung over the King of France.

tion,

tion, cauſed the preſs to be opened, and without making any minutes of the papers which it contained, took them away with him, examined them, and preſented them in perſon to the Aſſembly as ſo many written evidences, *capable of throwing great light upon the events of the 10th of Auguſt, upon the Revolution altogether, and upon thoſe characters who had taken the moſt active part in it.* He openly declared that ſeveral Members of the Firſt and Second Aſſembly were implicated in their contents, and concluded with moving that an expreſs Commiſſion be appointed to take cognizance of them.

Strong remonſtrances were immediately made in the Aſſembly againſt the irregularity of the Miniſter's conduct, and the opportunity which it afforded for foiſting in amongſt theſe papers many forged writings and other fabrications, tending to involve the moſt incorrupt patriots in ſuſpicion. In the eyes of the Regicide faction, however, the danger of ſuch an opportunity being turned againſt themſelves did not appear of ſo momentous concern as the advantage of being enabled by it to withdraw from this collection whatever might operate

to

to the King's juſtification, and ſupplying its place with as many private notes, memorandums, and plans of Counter-revolution, as they wiſhed, to be brought forward againſt his Majeſty as ſo many poſitive evidences, which would come forth with ſome degree of authenticity amongſt the other papers pretended to be found in this preſs. The denunciation, therefore, againſt *Roland* was rejected, and the Aſſembly inſtantly appointed twelve Commiſſioners, whom they ordered to proceed to the inveſtigation of theſe writings, and to draw up an inventory of the whole.

In the mean-time, the riots occaſioned by the dearneſs of corn, and of all the neceſſaries of life, were renewed with more violence than ever. Some Members of the Aſſembly who were ſent into the Departments of the Eure and Loire, ran conſiderable riſk of their lives, and ſaved them but by conſenting, under the threat of being inſtantly put to death, to order that every commodity ſhould be ſold at the low price the mob had choſen to ſet upon it. In the various denunciations relative to theſe exceſſes, they were repreſented to have originated at one time from the manœuvres of the

the Royaliſts *, and at another from the diſcontent of the people at the dilatorineſs with which the Aſſembly proceeded in the diſcuſſion upon the ſubject of the King's trial; and hence it was that the Aſſembly, depending upon the proofs or the reſources which the diſcovery of the iron preſs would ſupply, ſet apart two days, Wedneſday and Saturday, in every week to expedite its progreſs †. This diſcuſſion, after having been ſuſpended a fortnight, was thus taken up again on the 28th of November, in the preſence of the deputations of the London Societies, or Revolutionary Clubs, who were admitted to the honours of this Sitting, and doubtleſs were in every degree worthy of aſſiſting at it.

* The Miniſter *Roland* ſpoke of theſe diſturbances in the following terms, in a letter which he addreſſed to the Convention on the 27th of November. "If it "were neceſſary to prove the connection and correſ- "pondence of theſe agitators with the Ariſtocratic "party, and the moſt inveterate enemies of the Revo- "lution, this ſingle fact would render unneceſſary all "further proof."

† Decree of the 24th of November, enacted in conſequence of *Couthon*'s motion.

The Aſſembly on this day heard only two ſpeakers upon the queſtion reſpecting *Louis* XVI. being brought to trial. One of them (*Lefort*) ſpoke in favour of the inviolability; but throughout his ſpeech reflecting upon the King in the moſt inſolent terms, even when propoſing that he ſhould be ſet at liberty. "Give to the world," ſaid he, "a "ſplendid example of virtue and magna-"nimity; order *Louis Capet* to attend this "auguſt Aſſembly; let him appear at the "Bar, and ſay to him, *You are no longer "a King, ſuch is the people's will. The "image of your crimes ſhall be removed "from your ſight; we are rightly ſenſible "of them—we were once your chil-"dren——*" At theſe words the ſpeaker was interrupted by violent murmurs and burſts of laughter. "I demand," cried a Member of the *Coté-gauche*, "*that leave "be given to the Member to compare Louis "Capet to Saturn.*" He, taking this poor ſarcaſm for a ſerious ſuggeſtion, repeated the words which had drawn it upon him, and went on in the following ſtrain: "We were "your children, and you ſtrove to deſtroy "us. You deſerve to ſuffer death; we "permit you to live. We do more—we

" make you a citizen of France, a title " tranſcendently above that of King. The " ſame high ſenſe of the dignity of citizen- " ſhip actuated the minds of the Romans. " *Fabricius* would not have changed con- " dition with the King of Epirus, nor the " laſt of the Romans with *Jugurtha*. Thus " then do the French people, inſtead of " puniſhing, raiſe you to a ſtill more ex- " alted ſtation."

The preſence of the Engliſh deputations furniſhed him with other matter, taken from the hiſtory of their nation. " The " death of *Charles* I." he continued, " was " the principal cauſe of the reſtoration of " Royalty among a people too enlightened " to feel a love for Kings. The execution " of the father pleaded the cauſe of the ſon. " The people ſometimes give themſelves up " to emotions of ſenſibility inimical to their " intereſts, and of which, when once they " burſt forth in all their phrenzy, it is im- " poſſible to foreſee the conſequences. At " the Revolution of *James* II. who like- " wiſe had a ſon, other meaſures were pur- " ſued, his eſcape was connived at, and his " ſon in vain attempted to regain the " Throne."

The Deputy who on the ſame day made a ſpeech againſt the inviolability of the King, maintained that it differed nothing at all from that of the Members of the Aſſembly, who being themſelves liable to be brought before the ordinary Courts of Juſtice for their perſonal crimes, and to be put under arreſt when taken in the act of criminality, the King was, neceſſarily ſubject to the ſame law; that had he committed a robbery, he might have been carried before a Juſtice of Peace; and that now having been apprehended in the very fact, and even ſtained with the blood which he had been ſhedding, his inviolability could in nowiſe excuſe him from being brought to trial, nor prevent the proviſions which the criminal code had made againſt aſſaſſins, traitors, and perſons guilty of perjury, from being put in force againſt him. Theſe reaſonings were ſupported by a torrent of injurious invectives and imprecations againſt *Louis* XVI.; and the more groſs they were, the more were they applauded.

The horrible pamphlets with which the Capital had for a fortnight before overflowed, and the ſhocking calumnies for which the writings pretended to have been found in the iron

iron preſs had ſupplied ample matter, made an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, which re-animated the confidence and audacity of the Regicides to ſuch a degree as to induce them directly to propoſe to the Convention a more expeditious method of proceeding to the trial of the King. "The "proceedings," ſaid they, "will never be "brought to an end, if upon all the queſ- "tions which ariſe the Aſſembly be willing "to hear more ſpeeches, be they long or "ſhort, which each of us might be deſi- "rous of delivering from the Tribune. "Let all of them be laid upon the table "and printed, that ſomething definitive "may be concluded in this affair *." Another ſpeaker (*St. André*) adviſed meaſures yet more prompt, aſſerting that thoſe ſpeeches were of no uſe, for that *Louis* XVI. was already tried, that ſentence of condemnation alſo had been pronounced upon him by the people on the 10th of Auguſt, and that nothing more was left to be done by the Aſſembly, than to determine upon his puniſhment. They, however, went no far-

* Motion of *Le Gendre* in the Sitting of the 30th of November.

ther than to frame a decree upon *Le Gendre's* motion, and adjourned to the Tueſday following (the 4th of December) the deciſion of thoſe queſtions which related to the King's trial.

Fortune ſeemed to be bent upon rewarding every freſh iniquity of this Aſſembly by ſome ſignal ſucceſs. In the Sitting which followed that in which the decree I have juſt mentioned was paſſed, one of *Dumourier's* Aid-de-camps appeared at the Bar, and announced that the French army was at Liege; that they had gained a complete victory over the Auſtrians, and had driven them beyond the Meuſe, and that the city of Antwerp had ſurrendered.

The elections of the new Members of the Municipality being finiſhed *, and the infamous Revolutionary Commune, which was formed in the night between the 9th and 10th of Auguſt, drawing towards a cloſe, they were anxious that it ſhould be

* *Chambon* was choſen Mayor, after that appointment had been twice refuſed by M. *Dormeſſon*, a Judge and Preſident of one of the Courts of Juſtice in Paris, and formerly Counſellor of State and Comptroller General.

marked

marked by ſome deed of note worthy of thoſe other acts which had characteriſed almoſt every particular moment of their exiſtence: and in the ſingle hour which preceded their diſſolution, they ſurpaſſed the whole by the horrible petition which they preſented to the Aſſembly on the 2d of December in the Evening Sitting. It contained the following expreſſions: "Guardians of "the nation's vengeance, what is it that "ſuſpends your arm, ſo lately raiſed ſo-"lemnly to ſwear its execution? That arm "has hitherto only lacked a ſword, and "now that one fills its graſp, ſhall it be all "at once paralized? Shall the deteſtable "cup of *Circé* ſtill go round, in ſpite of all "our unwearied vigilance? No—French-"men cannot ſo contemn themſelves as to "ſuppoſe it poſſible. Is it then national "ſentiment, or foreign opinion? or is it "only groundleſs terror that withholds the "blow? What have you to fear from the "ſentiment of the nation?—it is enlight-"ened, it is eſtabliſhed. And what is the "opinion of foreign nations, when put in "competition with your intereſts? Let not "empty terrors make you falter, when our "armies are marching from triumph to

" triumph. What have you to fear, we " aſk again? Is not the ſhort-lived league " of thoſe tyrants who have riſen in arms " againſt French freedom, overwhelmed " with diſgrace and ſhame? Every one of " thoſe deſpots, trembling on his Throne, " dreads the fate of the perjured *Louis.* " Ah! citizens, ſhall a ſluggiſh torpor hold " your zeal captive, and wrap your pru- " dence in ſo deep a ſlumber? What, then, " are not the crimes of *Louis* ſufficiently " manifeſt? Does your hatred tire? and " has it, think you, perfected its work in " merely its execrations againſt the ci- " vicide *Louis?* The people have cried out " to you, *Puniſh our aſſaſſins, there is no* " *other inviolability than ours.* Dare then " to carry your imaginations over theſe " countries deluged with blood; caſt your " eyes upon thoſe mangled bodies, whoſe " aſpect, menacing even in death, re- " proaches you with your inactivity—liſten " to their indignant manes; you are bound " to afford them that ſatisfaction which they " imperiouſly demand; they exact as their " right the blood of the crowned aſſaſſin. " Why then do you linger? To inquire " whether the former King of the French

" can

" can be brought to trial, is to be guilty of " political blaſphemy; it is to be regardleſs " of the will of the nation, and to riſk its " glory by uſeleſs debates. The people, " all patient as they are, may grow weary " of theſe delays. The Commune and the " ſeveral Sections of Paris require of you, " 1ſt, to ſtate the queſtion as it ought to " ſtand: does *Louis*, formerly King of the " French, deſerve to die? Will it conduce " to the advantage of the Republic that he " be brought to the ſcaffold? 2dly, to re- " double your zeal and promptitude through- " out this affair; that is, to decree that four " Afternoon Sittings be every week appro- " priated to that purpoſe."

The Preſident in his anſwer vindicated the Convention from the reproach of ſupineneſs and puſillanimous delay, by calling to mind the decree which had fixed Tueſday the 4th of December for the definitive deciſion *upon the trial of the laſt King of the French.* " The great Tribunal of nations," added he, " public opinion, has long ſince " paſſed its judgment on *Louis Capet*, and " the famous day of his treacheries. The " Tribunal of the French people will very " ſoon come to a determination. The Na- " tional

" tional Convention is not accountable for " their labours, their thoughts, and their " proceedings againſt *Louis the Traitor*, " but to the Republic altogether *."

The Aſſembly applauded all theſe blaſphemies, granted the honours of the Sitting to this Deputation, and decreed that their petition and the Preſident's reply ſhould be printed and ſent to the Departments. Such was the blood-thirſty temper of mind with which theſe monſters, theſe ferocious denunciators, theſe inveterate accuſers of their King prepared themſelves for his trial.

In the following Sitting the Aſſembly heard the report of the Commiſſion relative to thoſe Deputies, who, according to the Miniſter *Roland*'s teſtimony, appeared to be implicated in the papers found in the iron-preſs. There were letters found from M. M. *de la Porte* and *St. Foi*, which did in effect indicate ſome ſteps to have been taken, and ſome negociations to have been entered into with a few of the Deputies, to get ſome decrees paſſed in the King's favour, or to create a Royaliſt party in the Legiſlative Body; but the bad ſucceſs of endeavours,

* This Preſident was *Barrere*.

which

which were themſelves very unſatisfactorily proved, was ſufficient ground for doubting their reality; and theſe doubts were confirmed by the poſitive manner in which the Deputies named in thoſe letters denied all knowledge of the whole deſign. *Barrere* and *Merlin* were of the number of thoſe whoſe names were called in queſtion. The former, who had already ſided with *Robeſpierre*, and was one of the loudeſt advocates of the regicide faction, had been lately raiſed to the dignity of Preſident; and as to the latter, no one was ignorant of *Merlin*'s having once had it in his heart to become himſelf the aſſaſſin or the executioner of *Louis* XVI.* What well-ſubſtantiated proofs, therefore, did it not require to induce the Aſſembly to ſuſpect ſuch devoted villains of being attached to the Royal cauſe? The Reporter of the Commiſſion likewiſe read to the Aſſembly the ridiculous letter written by *Rouhier* to the King, of

* He himſelf boaſted in the Sitting of the 4th of December. "If I reproach myſelf with any thing, "it is with not having, on the 10th of Auguſt, fol- "lowed the firſt ſuggeſtions of my mind, which urged "me to ſpare you the trouble of bringing *Louis* XVI. "to a tedious trial."

which

which I have given an account in one of the preceding chapters. It excited loud burſts of laughter; the well known ſtupidity, and the brutal plebeian principles of this Deputy, excuſed him from attempting any juſtification of himſelf. "If he had been "himſelf capable of compoſing ſuch a "letter," ſaid ſome one, "it muſt have "been written on his part merely to dupe "others; if it was written for him, he "was himſelf the dupe." And this he certainly was, to all intents and purpoſes. M. M. *Talon*, *St. Foi*, and *Dufreſne St. Leon*, Commiſſioner of the Liquidation office, implicated by their own letters, found amongſt the reſt of the papers in the iron-preſs, were declared under impeachment.

Scarcely was this report finiſhed, when the Aſſembly reſumed the queſtion of the King's trial, regardleſs of the decree by which it had been adjourned to the next day, and notwithſtanding they had not publiſhed a ſingle ſpeech of all thoſe which they had ordered to be printed, for the purpoſe of throwing further light upon the various parts of the ſubject yet remaining to be conſidered by the Convention, and the diſcuſſion of which they had at firſt thought

ſo

ſo neceſſary, to give an air of the greateſt poſſible ſolemnity to the whole, that every other people might be inſtructed by their example. There was nothing to hinder all theſe different queſtions from being ſettled on that day in a very ſhort ſpace of time. In fact, the firſt ſpeaker began by propoſing, without any preamble, a decree of impeachment againſt *Louis* XVI. A great part of the Aſſembly roſe as it were by one ſpontaneous impulſe to give their ſupport to this motion; and had it been put to the vote, as a tumult of voices from all parts of the Hall demanded, there is not a doubt but it had paſſed into a decree. It was, however, ſtrongly oppoſed by *Robeſpierre*, who, regarding the conviction of the King as already decided by the people, and as a dangerous point to be again placed in queſtion, inſiſted that the decree of the Aſſembly ſhould do no more than determine what puniſhment *Louis* XVI. had incurred. "We "have here," ſaid he, "nothing to do "with trial; *Louis* ſtands not in the con- "dition of one impeached, neither are you "judges: you are, you only can be, Stateſ- "men and Repreſentatives of the nation; "you have no ſentence to pronounce for or

" againſt any man; you have a meaſure of " public ſafety to purſue; you have an act " of National providence to perform. What " meaſures, think you, ought a wholeſome " policy to preſcribe in order to ſtrengthen " an infant Republic? It is to engrave " deeply on every heart contempt of Roy- " alty, and confound all the partizans of " the King with fear; but, to lay his " crimes before the world as a queſtion " problematical and dubious, to repreſent " his trial as an object of the moſt impor- " tant, the moſt ſacred diſcuſſion is to find " out preciſely the very ſecret of rendering " him ſtill dangerous to liberty? *Louis* " was King, and the Republic is eſta- " bliſhed. By theſe few words alone is " this great queſtion, with which you are " ſo taken up, decided. Victory and the " people have proclaimed *Louis* alone to be " guilty. He cannot then be tried; he is " already condemned; he, I ſay, is con- " demned, or the Republic is not abſolved. " To propoſe that *Louis* XVI. be brought " to trial, however ſuch a thing can be " effected, is to fall back again towards " Royal and Conſtitutional deſpotiſm; it is " in itſelf a Counter-revolutionary idea;

" for,

" for, in fact, it places the Revolution itſelf " at iſſue. If *Louis* can indeed be conſi- " dered as an object for trial, *Louis* may be " acquitted, he may even be innocent, nay, " he muſt be preſumed to be ſo until his " trial be concluded: but, if this *Louis* " can for a moment be preſumed innocent, " what is to be thought of the Revolution? " All the defenders of freedom are calum- " niators and rebels; all the patriots through- " out the French Empire loaded with guilt; " and even every moment of impriſonment " which *Louis* has ſuffered is to be ac- " counted an unjuſt, vexatious, and " wicked outrage. When once a nation " has been driven to have recourſe to the " rights of inſurrection, it is inſtantly to " be conſidered as in a ſtate of nature with " reſpect to the tyrant who has cauſed it. " Courts of Juſtice and judicial procedure " are appointed only for the inhabitants of " the city. It is a palpable contradiction " to ſuppoſe that the Conſtitution, which " has been done away, can be paramount " to the new order of things under which " we have placed ourſelves; this would be " to ſuppoſe that it could ſurvive its own " extinction. What laws are thoſe which

" exiſt

" exiſt in its ſtead?—thoſe which nature
" dictates; and that moſt eſſential one,
" which conſtitutes the baſis of ſociety
" itſelf, *the welfare of the people.* There
" is no diſtinction between that right which
" puniſhes the tyrant and that which de-
" thrones him; the one allows of no more
" forms than the other. The trial of a
" tyrant is inſurrection, his conviction is
" the downfal of his power, his puniſh-
" ment is what the liberty of the people
" demands. Nations proceed not to trial
" with the formalities of a Court of Juſtice;
" they paſs no ſentence, but hurl at once
" the thunderbolt of their wrath; they
" condemn not Kings, but precipitate them
" into their original nothingneſs, and there
" is as much juſtice in this as in the legal
" proceſs of the Courts. We have ſuffered
" ourſelves to be led into erroneous conclu-
" ſions by foreign examples, which have
" not the leaſt relation to our own caſe.
" What if *Cromwell* cauſed *Charles* I. to be
" tried by a Judiciary Commiſſion devoted
" to his own intereſts; what if *Elizabeth*
" condemned *Mary* of Scotland by her
" own judges; it is natural that tyrants
" who ſacrifice their equals, not in the peo-
" ple's

" ple's cauſe, but to feed their own ambi-
" tion, ſhould labour to deceive the minds
" of the vulgar by illuſive forms. In ſuch
" matters, neither principles nor freedom
" are at all concerned, impoſition and in-
" trigue conduct the whole. But what
" other law can the people follow than
" juſtice and reaſon ſupported by their om-
" nipotence? In what Republic has the
" neceſſity for bringing tyrants to condign
" puniſhment been ever regarded as a ſubject
" for legal diſquiſition? Was *Tarquin*
" ſummoned to judgment?—But what, on
" the contrary, do we? We ſend for advo-
" cates from all parts to come and plead the
" cauſe of *Louis* XVI. We may one day
" have to decree them Civic crowns; for,
" if they undertake to defend that cauſe,
" they may hope to render it triumphant,
" otherwiſe you will but preſent the world
" with an abſurd farce. And we ſtill pre-
" ſume to talk of a Republic! But what
" a Republic muſt that be, whoſe founders
" rouſe from every part of it enemies to attack
" it even in its cradle! We call in the aid
" of forms, becauſe we no longer poſſeſs
" any principles. We value ourſelves upon
" our delicacy, becauſe we fail in energy;

" we make a ſhew of a falſe humanity,
" becauſe we are ſtrangers to the true;
" we reverence the ſhadow of a King, but
" know not how to reſpect the people; we
" preſerve a tenderneſs for the oppreſſor,
" becauſe we no longer retain compaſſion
" for the oppreſſed. The trial of *Louis*
" XVI.! What is this trial? What, if not
" the appeal which inſurrection makes to
" ſome tribunal, ſome Aſſembly of the
" nation? O crime! O ſhame! ſhame!
" The tribune of the French people has
" laboured with the panegyric of *Louis*
" XVI.! We have heard the virtues and
" good deeds of that tyrant vaunted. Juſt
" Heaven! All the ſavage hordes of deſpo-
" tiſm ſet themſelves in array to tear afreſh
" the boſom of our country in the name of
" *Louis* XVI.! *Louis* ſtill fights againſt us,
" even from the bottom of his dungeon;
" and we ſtill doubt his guilt, we ſtill in-
" quire of ourſelves whether we have a
" right to deal with him as with an enemy.
" We are aſked, what laws condemn him?
" The Conſtitution is appealed to in his
" behalf:—the Conſtitution oppoſed its
" interdict to all that we have done againſt
" him. If he can be no otherwiſe puniſhed

" than by being depoſed, you could not
" have inflicted that puniſhment without
" having firſt given his cauſe a hearing;
" you have not ſo much as the right of de-
" taining him in priſon; but he on his part
" has that of demanding his liberation,
" and has a claim upon you for damages
" and intereſt. The Conſtitution then con-
" demns you. Go, proſtrate yourſelves at
" the feet of *Louis*; implore his clemency.
" For my part, I ſhould bluſh to treat the
" ſubject of theſe Conſtitutional cavils in
" any more ſerious manner. Whence is it
" that a queſtion, which the happineſs of
" the people ſo eaſily determines, aſſumes
" towards their delegates ſo problematic,
" ſo inexplicable a nature? Do we poſſeſs
" the right of maintaining a will contrary
" to the general will? Are we gifted with
" a wiſdom different from that which uni-
" verſal reaſon inſiſts on? There may per-
" haps be found thoſe who, that they
" might put it out of the power of the
" nation to take upon itſelf a character
" worthy of it, or might ſnatch from other
" nations the opportunity of being en-
" lightened by an example that would ele-
" vate their ſoul to the full conception of

" Republican principles, or who, that they " might ſatisfy ſome ſtill more diſgraceful " inclination, would not feel themſelves " averſe to ſome private arm's executing " the functions of National juſtice. Citi- " zens, be guarded againſt this ſnare. " Whoever ſhould venture to give ſuch " counſel as this would ſerve only the ene- " mies of the people. Although even " thus *Louis* might meet his fate, yet his " puniſhment cannot produce any good con- " ſequence, than as it carries with it the " awful character of public vengeance. " Of what importance to the people is the " contemptible individuality of the laſt " King?

" What then is the motive for theſe ever- " laſting delays? You fear to act in a man- " ner repugnant to the opinion of the " people, as if the people themſelves had " any other fears than for the weakneſs or " the ambition of their Deputies; as if the " people were a vile herd of ſlaves, ſtupidly " attached to the ſtupid tyrant whom they " have proſcribed, and willing at any rate " to enjoy a brutal eaſe in their baſeneſs and " ſervitude. A freſh difficulty ſtarts up: " to what puniſhment ſhall we condemn

" *Louis?* That of death is too cruel ſays
" one. No, cries another, life is yet more
" ſo, I move that he be permitted to live.—
" Ye, who thus advocate the cauſe of the
" King, does pity or cruelty induce you
" thus to exert yourſelves, that he might
" eſcape the puniſhment of his crimes?
" That of death you except againſt in be-
" half of the only man who ought law-
" fully to ſuffer. The public ſafety urges
" it not in caſes of ordinary guilt: but a
" dethroned King exiſting in the boſom of
" a Revolution; a King, whoſe very name
" pulls down the ſcourge of war upon an
" agitated nation, neither impriſonment
" nor exile can render his exiſtence matter
" of indifference to the people's happineſs.
" *Louis* ought to fall rather than an hun-
" dred thouſand virtuous citizens; *Louis*
" ought to die, becauſe it is neceſſary that
" the country ſhould live. I propoſe to you,
" therefore, inſtantly to decide his fate.
" As for his wife, you will ſend her to the
" common Courts of Juſtice, as you will
" all the other perſons detected in the like
" heinous conduct; let his ſon be taken
" care of in the Temple until peace and
" public freedom be eſtabliſhed. But in

" what immediately concerns *Louis*, I " move, that the National Convention pro- " claim him a traitor to the French nation, " an offender againſt human nature; and I " further move, that under this title he be " made a great example to the world on " that very ſpot where, on the 10th of " Auguſt, the brave martyrs to the cauſe " of liberty met their deaths."

This ſpeech was much longer; but I thought the paſſages which I have given, and reported word for word, quite enough to mark the energy and boldneſs, the diabolical principles and atrocious character of *Robeſpierre*. We can no longer wonder at the torrents of blood which this inſatiate monſter has ſhed, when we behold him thus horribly thirſting for that of *Louis* XVI. which flowed the pureſt of all that ever filled the veins of the offspring of *St. Louis*. The arrogant, imperious, and authoritative tone of this ſpeech, compared to that with which *Robeſpierre* addreſſed the Aſſembly but a month before, and the inceſſant clapping which interrupted every ſentence I have quoted, ſhow how rapidly he ſucceeded in raiſing himſelf from that ſtate of diſrepute into which he had altogether

gether fallen; but that which demonſtrates more ſtrongly than any words I can make uſe of, the infamous cowardice, or the execrable depravity of the Convention, is, that not one of the Members roſe to refute *Robeſpierre*, and that the whole diſcuſſion of the queſtions relative to the trial of the King was confined to this ſpeech. *Petion* was the only one who ſpoke, obſerving, that although there was no doubt remaining of *Louis* XVI. being guilty, and therefore he ought to be puniſhed, it was yet to be determined what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted; and, in order to apply which, ſome form of trial was neceſſary at all events; he concluded, therefore, by moving, in addition to the former reſolutions, the following, 1ſt, that *Louis* XVI. be brought to trial; 2dly, that he be tried by the National Convention. This motion was put to the vote, and carried by a great majority, in ſpite of all the oppoſition and choler of *Robeſpierre*, who continually repeated that every thing had already been ſettled as to trial, and that nothing more was wanting than to fix a day for the execution of *Louis* XVI.

The motives for this decree, as given by

Petion, who propoſed it, appeared in fact to confine the object of it to the application of the puniſhment which the King was to undergo; whence it happened, that the firſt motion, which was made in the following Sitting in conſequence of this decree, was one for immediately proceeding, without any remiſſion, to his trial. The galleries and a great part of the Aſſembly applauded this motion with tranſport: more than a hundred Members of the *Coté-gauche*, who had avowedly gone over to the ſide of *Robeſpierre*, roſe at once, and loudly demanded that it ſhould be put to the vote. The Girondiſt party fearing more than ever to ſee the projects of Dictatorſhip or Triumvirate revived, contended with all their ſtrength, that before this motion were debated, it ſhould be decreed, that whoever propoſed or attempted to re-eſtabliſh in France Royalty, or any other power intrenching upon the ſovereignty of the people, ſhould ſuffer death. This was carried with ſcarcely a diſſenting voice. *Robeſpierre* propoſed that it ſhould be decreed, as a principle, that no nation could give itſelf a King; but the Aſſembly rejecting this motion, he reproached them *with having ſuffered to eſcape them the*

the moſt precious opportunity that could ever preſent itſelf of marking out by a decree, or at leaſt by a ſolemn declaration, the only limit which could be attached to that too general and often miſunderſtood principle of the ſovereignty of nations. He inſiſted, with reſpect to the trial of the King, that the Aſſembly had come to no deciſion concerning any trial in form, but ſolely that they ſhould themſelves pronounce judgment or paſs the ſentence of death; that ſuch pronouncing of judgment not requiring any law, might and ought to take place directly; but, in conſequence of a repreſentation which had been made, that the Aſſembly had already detected many accomplices of the conſpiracies of *Louis* XVI., that there were yet many others exiſting whom it was important to know, and that as they might chance to be diſcovered by the interrogatories which would be put to the King, he had at laſt brought himſelf to think that it would be more expedient for *Louis* to go through a regular trial, and that the Aſſembly ſhould be occupied every day from twelve o'clock to ten in this buſineſs only.

It

It now became neceſſary to ſearch out, to conceive, and to fabricate new offences; to which might be attached, no matter with what degree of foundation, ſome plea of accuſation ſufficiently ſerious to afford matter for an empty pretext of carrying on a criminal trial againſt *Louis* XVI.; for, as was inſtanced in the preceding chapter, the reſpective reports of *Valazé* and *Mailhe* did not contain a ſingle pretence which could be wreſted into a real charge againſt his Majeſty. They were both made up of one continued tiſſue of ſhameleſs falſehoods, calumnies, furious declamations, and ſuſpicions utterly devoid of proof. Theſe teſtimonies, which the Commiſſion of the Twelve had been inſtructed to *find* amongſt the papers contained in the iron preſs, were waited for with the greateſt impatience, and were at length laid before the Convention in the Sitting of the 5th of December. The Reporter cited and read firſt ſome letters from M. *de la Porte*, and a memorial of Mr. *Talon*'s, which mentioned meaſures ſometimes undertaken and ſometimes propoſed by the latter, in concert with M. *de St. Foy*, to influence the public opinion in

in behalf of the King, both at Paris and in the Provinces; to endeavour to direct the election of the Members of the Conſtituted Authorities, &c. and to learn the diſpoſitions of the people, of the National Guard, and of the troops of the line; 2dly, ſome other letters written by M. *de la Porte*, which proved the negociations that had been carried on with *Mirabeau*, and the pecuniary conditions on which the latter had conſented to abandon the Jacobin party, and devote himſelf to the King's intereſt; 3dly, a plan or minute of a letter to M. *de la Fayette*, in the hand-writing of the King, and dated the 23d of June 1790, couched in the following terms: "We have a thorough confidence in you; but you are ſo entirely taken up with the duties of your office, which is of ſo much uſe to us, that it is impoſſible for you to do every thing yourſelf: we muſt therefore look out for ſome man of talent and activity who may be able to afford that attention to our affairs which you, from want of time, are not able to do. We are perſuaded that *Mirabeau* anſwers this deſcription, from his energy, his talents, and his habit of conducting buſineſs in

"the

" the Aſſembly. We require, therefore, " that M. *de la Fayette* would make a " point of concerting with *Mirabeau* in " whatever concerns the welfare of the " State, our ſervice, and perſon."

The idea of aſſociating M. *de la Fayette* and *Mirabeau* for the good of the State and the ſervice of the King, although ſuggeſted a year before the new Conſtitution was in being, was repreſented by the Commiſſion of the Twelve as a poſitive plan for a Counter-revolution, to the execution of which were imputed all the various expenditures of ſecret ſervice money paid by M. *de la Porte*, from his appointment to the Comptroller-ſhip of the Civil Liſt, down to the fatal 10th of Auguſt, to the compilers of Royaliſt journals and pamphlets, and to ſome confidential perſons amongſt the Sections, the National Guard, the Clubs, and the galleries of the Aſſembly, &c.* Although theſe

* The article of the journals and pamphlets was the only one in which M. *de la Porte* was not deceived. In the other points he was obliged to refer himſelf to perſons who entered into all kinds of intrigue without the ſmalleſt ſcruple, for whatever they could get, and who made him very often pay extremely dear for ſervices never

theſe expences were almoſt all incurred antecedent to the negociation entered into with *Mirabeau*, who conſidered them as an immenſe and uſeleſs waſte of means, and propoſed in their ſtead to eſtabliſh in all the Provinces of the kingdom a regular correſpondence, of which literature alone ſhould be the oſtenſible object, but of which the real purpoſe ſhould be to obtain ſome knowledge of the Deputies of the Second Legiſlature, and to gain an inſight into their manners, their talents, their principles; to learn what ſucceſs the new laws met with in the Departments, and what were the diſpoſitions of the National Guards, of the ſeveral regiments, &c. The memorial relative to this plan, which *Mirabeau* mentioned only as a firſt eſſay, was accompanied by a note pointing out thirteen agents who might be employed to carry on this correſpondence in many Departments, and ſtating the ſala-

never performed. It appears in the preceding chapters, that it coſt the King almoſt three millions of livres during the Firſt Aſſembly, for the ſalary of perſons who profeſſed to be truſty, and who were employed to influence the galleries; but in no one day did the ſmalleſt effect of that influence, ſo dearly bought, appear.

ries

ries which it would be neceſſary to allow them*; but the death of *Mirabeau* prevented this ſcheme from being carried into execution: it was, however, found in the iron preſs, and the Commiſſion of the Twelve made as much of it as if it had really been executed.

Some other plans for effecting the eſcape of the King and his Family from Paris, and ſecuring their retreat to Fontainebleau or to Compiegne, with ſeveral plans for a Conſtitution, one of which was marked *La Fayette*, but which were all of them of a date anterior to that of the aſſent given by his Majeſty to the Conſtitutional Act of 1791, were likewiſe converted into ſo many proofs of treaſon, treachery, &c.

At length the original letter addreſſed by the King to the Biſhop of *Clermont* in the month of April 1791, in which his Majeſty requeſted to know of that Prelate, whether he could receive the ſacrament at Eaſter, was brought forward by the Reporter *as a moſt weighty and concluſive proof of the exiſtence of a plot formed by*

* Theſe ſalaries amounted in all to no more than 61,200 livres per annum.

the

the King to re-eſtabliſh the former ſyſtem of things. True it is that this letter, the preciſe date of which I have mentioned, contained the following expreſſions: "You "know the diſtreſſing dilemma in which my "unhappy aſſent to the decrees againſt the "clergy has placed me; I have always re-"garded that aſſent as wrung from me by "force, and am fully reſolved, if ever I "recover my power, to eſtabliſh the Ca-"tholic worſhip anew." There was evidently nothing in this letter but what related to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion, and by no means inferring that of the antient order of things; but it was remarked by ſome Members, that the words, *if ever I recover my power*, precluded all doubt of *Louis* XVI.'s being anxious to recover his former authority, and that the papers already cited proved that he had endeavoured to effect it.

It is doubtleſs poſſible that the King, deeply afflicted at all the diſaſters conſequent on that ſacrifice of his former power, which he had made with the hope of increaſing the happineſs of his ſubjects, might earneſtly deſire to be again in poſſeſſion of it, to enable him to put a ſtop to the calamities

mities which deſolated France, and particularly to re-eſtabliſh the Catholic religion; but this deſire, in which there aſſuredly was nothing deſerving of blame, was not proved even in the letter which mentioned it; for the only power given by the new Conſtiſtution to the King, and which it is well known he did not enjoy at the time, gave him a right freely to refuſe his ſanction to all decrees relative to religion, which did not make a part of the Conſtitution. Beſides, might not *Louis* XVI. flatter himſelf, that when the galleries and the various Clubs ſhould no longer have it in their power to dictate decrees to the Aſſembly, thoſe would ceaſe to be regarded as laws, which violence and threats had conſtrained that Aſſembly to enact? And might he not alſo, without deſigning any thing inimical to the true rights and intereſts of the nation, look upon that Conſtitution as reſting upon very precarious dependencies, whilſt all parties ſeemed eager to overthrow it?

The negociation with *Mirabeau* was the only fact which could be conſidered as ſufficiently proved by the letters of M. *de la Porte*; but in this fact there was nothing to object againſt the King, or the Comptroller

troller of the Civil Liſt. *Mirabeau*, culpable in having brought on the firſt nefarious attempts of the Revolution, and afterwards endeavouring to repair the evil conſequences of his errors and his faults, would have left a noble example to poſterity, if his change of principles had ariſen from a virtuous ſentiment; and if the pecuniary conditions with which it was ſullied had not utterly deſtroyed its merit. The advantage occurring to the nation from this change would not have been at all diminiſhed, had *Mirabeau* lived; but his dying reduced all its utility to the mere expoſure of the ſecret of ſuch pretenders to patriotiſm, who make a parade of their ardent, their extravagant zeal for the people's intereſts, in order to make the beſt market of that influence which public credulity puts into their hands. Nevertheleſs, when there is found amongſt ſuch men one, who by his talents and genius has it abſolutely in his power to overturn or ſave an Empire, (and ſuch was *Mirabeau* in France,) it certainly becomes neceſſary to purchaſe his ſervices at whatever price he can be prevailed upon to ſell them; the ſafety of the State ſtamps the legality of ſuch a meaſure, and blots out

every idea of corruption, the reproach of which can only apply to that ſort of ſtipulation which tends to withdraw an honeſt man from the path of honour, or cauſes him to deviate from the exact line of duty; but not in the remoteſt degree does it affect thoſe whoſe only object in view is to bring back a man of depraved principles to worthy conduct, and to deeds of virtue. Woe be to that man who is ſo depraved as to barter theſe for wealth; but he who ſubmits to purchaſe them is as little deſerving of cenſure as he who rewards them. Now it is inconteſtable that the ſervices which the King required of *Mirabeau* had no other end than the ſafety and happineſs of France; the contracts made with this Deputy, which I have related in the Firſt Part of theſe Annals, (Chap. XXXVI.) place this beyond all controverſy. The negociation with *Mirabeau* was not then an act of corruption on the part of *Louis* XVI.; nor could it appear criminal but in the eyes of thoſe wretches whom it would have deprived of the power to go on in their iniquitous courſe with impunity; whence it came to paſs that this part of the report which the Commiſſion of the Twelve gave in, was

that which ſo greatly excited the fury of the Members of the *Coté-gauche*. Many of them demanded that *Mirabeau* ſhould be taken out of his tomb in the Pantheon, and that his buſt, which ſince his death had been placed in the Hall of the Aſſembly, ſhould be immediately broken to pieces; but *Manuel* obſerved, that *Mirabeau* was as yet only impeached, but was neither tried nor convicted; that his memory was entitled to the ſame rights as he himſelf was in his lifetime, more eſpecially to that of not being condemned without being heard, and that ſome friendly advocate ought to be appointed for him. In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, the Aſſembly referred to the Committee of Public Inſtruction all thoſe motions which related to *Mirabeau*, and decreed that his buſt ſhould be veiled until that Committee ſhould have given in its Report.

The diſcuſſion of the Report of the Commiſſion of the Twelve relating to *Louis* XVI. opened in the following Sitting*. Different plans of decrees were propoſed as to the mode of trial: the one which the Aſſembly adopted was conceived in the following terms:

* December 6th.

Art. 1. The Commiſſion of the Twenty-four, the Committees of Legiſlation and of General Safety, ſhall each name three Members, who ſhall join the Commiſſion of the Twelve.

Art. 2. This Commiſſion, conſiſting of twenty-one Members, ſhall on Monday morning (Dec. 10) preſent the Act declaratory of the crimes of which *Louis Capet* is accuſed; and ſhall arrange in convenient order all the papers corroborating it.

Art. 3. The Commiſſion ſhall preſent, in the Sitting of Tueſday morning, at eight o'clock, the ſeries of queſtions to be put to *Louis Capet.*

Art. 4. The National Convention ſhall diſcuſs, in the Sitting of Monday, the Act declaratory of the crimes of *Louis Capet.*

Art. 5. The next day *Louis Capet* ſhall be brought to the Bar of the Convention to hear the ſaid Act read, and ſhall anſwer to the queſtions, which ſhall be put to him only by the Preſident.

Art. 6. Copies of the Act of Impeachment, and of the ſeries of queſtions, ſhall be ſent to *Louis Capet*, and the Preſident ſhall ſummon him in two days to be heard definitively.

Art.

Art. 7. The day after his laſt appearance at the Bar, the National Convention ſhall determine upon the fate of *Louis Capet* by a call of votes: each Member ſhall in his turn aſcend the Tribune to give his vote.

Art. 8. The National Convention charges the Executive Power, upon its reſponſibility, to take all the neceſſary meaſures for preſerving the public ſafety during the continuance of the trial of *Louis Capet.*

Marat remarked, that that part of the contents of this decree, which ordained that the National Convention ſhould determine upon the deſtiny of *Louis Capet* by a call of votes, was too vague; and that the ſureſt means of finding out and unmaſking thoſe traitors which lurked in the Aſſembly, was to decree *that the death of the tyrant ſhould be determined upon by the call of votes, and that this ſhould be public.* The decree did in fact ſay the ſame thing leſs explicitly; but the turn which *Marat* gave it, had the merit of being more adapted to the comprehenſion of the galleries; they of courſe teſtified their ſatisfaction by violent clapping, and by the moſt noiſy acclamations. The Aſſembly did not, however, deem it expedient to adopt this amendment.

The ſame day in which this decree was paſſed, the new Commune of Paris, which had been only four days inſtalled, and without doubt deſirous of ſignalizing itſelf by ſome act of patriotiſm, and alſo to manifeſt itſelf as worthy of the confidence of the regicides as the Commune of the 10th of Auguſt, reſolved, "that the priſoners of "the Temple ſhould be deprived of all "kinds of ſharp inſtruments and other wea-"pons, and of every thing which is uſually "taken from priſoners who are preſumed "criminal; that all perſons who attended "upon them, or who went near them, "ſhould be ſubjected to the ſame priva-"tions; that all the victuals ſhould be taſted "by the perſons who had the charge of the "priſoners; that every thing which entered "the Tower ſhould be ſtrictly examined by "the Commiſſioners on duty at the Temple, "who ſhould be bound to give an account "every day to the Commune of all that "paſſed in the priſon, and that the ſervants "ſhould no longer ſleep in the Tower." This reſolution was put into execution the next day with the moſt ſcrupulous and moſt unfeeling rigour *.

* See *Clery*'s Journal, page 128.

In

In the interval between the 6th and 10th of December, the correſpondence of the Generals, and the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for ſecuring all articles of ſubſiſtence, and the conſtant obſtacles which their conveyance met with, principally took up the attention of the Aſſembly; who alſo ordered an account to be laid before them of whatſoever papers were found in the cheſt implicating *Dumourier*. This General at that time experienced all kinds of contradictions and diſguſts from the Miniſter at War, (*Paſche*), with whom he had quarrelled openly and in the moſt violent manner before the National Convention.

The cauſe of this diſpute was as follows: The exorbitant and, according to report, fraudulent bargains which *Dumourier* had made with the Commiſſaries, and the enormous expence which reſulted from ſuch procedure *, determined the Convention to interdict the Generals and the regulating Commiſſioners from entering into any contracts, loans, or purchaſes, for the ſupply and ſub-

* *Cambon* declared, in the Sitting of the 5th of December, that the expenditure of the armies for the preceding three months, amounted to 468 millions of livres.

ſiſtence of the troops; and further to eſtabliſh, conformably to the propoſition of the Miniſter at War, a Committee of Purchaſe, charged with the providing all the neceſſaries for the armies, and ſubject to the orders of the Executive Council; but whether the Generals, conſidering this arrangement as an attack upon their honour, and perhaps upon their profits alſo, ſought to impede rather than to aid its operation, or whether it happened through the incapacity or knavery of the perſons at the head of this Committee, *Dumourier* found himſelf in want of bread, forage, and money, and was therefore conſtrained, contrary to the decree, to have recourſe once more to a loan, in order to pay and ſubſiſt his army. He complained of this neceſſity with much loftineſs and bitterneſs to the Miniſter, who, on his part, hurt, no doubt, at the high tone the General had taken towards him, anſwered him in a very rough manner. This Miniſter *Paſche* was a great villain, a furious Revolutioniſt, and with theſe two points in his character, he had conciliated to himſelf, both in the Convention and in the galleries, a great many partizans and friends. *Dumourier*, on his ſide, had his

victories to ſpeak for him, and the greater part of the Aſſembly to ſupport him. Conſcious that there was the greateſt need of his ſervices, he did not heſitate vigorouſly to attack his adverſary in a letter which he wrote to the Convention; in which he aſſerted that he ſhould have long before that time annihilated the Auſtrian army, had he been ſeconded as he ought to have been; and he announced, that in the courſe of a week he ſhould ſend in his reſignation, if the new ſyſtem of affairs, of which he complained, was not changed; and if ſuſpicion and ill-will were ſuffered any longer to throw obſtacles in the way of his deſigns. Such was the predicament in which *Dumourier* ſtood, when his enemies publicly declared that they had found in the iron preſs the ſtrongeſt proofs of his treachery. Theſe proofs confined themſelves to two letters, which were read to the Aſſembly: one was from M. *de la Porte*, who, after an interview with *Dumourier*, had written to the King that he profeſſed the profoundeſt attachment to his Majeſty, and the greateſt hatred for demagogues; the other was a letter from *Dumourier* himſelf to the King, dated, as well as M. *de la Porte*'s, on the 19th of March

March 1791, in which he requeſted to be appointed Ambaſſador of France to the Elector of Mayence, and made proteſtations to his Majeſty of a faithful devotion to his intereſts, which his conduct was very far indeed from juſtifying. " Your Majeſty," ſaid he in this letter, " is the moſt virtuous man in " your kingdom; I have the tendereſt at- " tachment to your Majeſty; it is increaſed " conſiderably by circumſtances." At the reading of this ſentence violent murmurs broke forth in the Aſſembly and galleries; but they were ſilenced when the Deputy *Merlin* declared " that *Dumourier* paſſing " through Douay had told him, *that he had* " *at firſt loved the Conſtitutional Royalty,* " *but that the frequent intrigues had after-* " *wards diſguſted him with it;* that he " after this went to Liſle, where he had " aſſiſted at a Sitting of the Society then " called the Friends of the Conſtitution, " and had made a very patriotic ſpeech to " induce that Society to ſend an addreſs to " the National Aſſembly, for the purpoſe " of demanding the depoſition of *Louis* " XVI." There was nothing more wanting than this to convince the Aſſembly, that if *Dumourier* really was capable of treaſon

or

or treachery, it was not towards the Revolution: they decreed, therefore, of courſe, that there was no cauſe of blame found in him, and no ground for accuſation againſt him.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Act of Impeachment againſt the King—The Dauphin removed from his Majeſty—The King brought to the Bar of the Convention—Occurrences at the Temple—Letter from the Duke of Orleans to the Public—The King chooſes Target for his Counſel—Target's Refuſal of the Office—Conduct of the People towards him—Letter from M. de Maleſherbes to the Preſident of the Convention, offering his Services to the King as Counſel—M. Tronchet appointed his Majeſty's other Counſel—Barbarous Decree reſpecting the

the King's Communication with his Family—The Articles of Impeachment delivered to the King—Decree promiſing Protection and Aſſiſtance to all Nations in recovering Liberty—Decree reſpecting the Conduct to be purſued by the French Generals in entering a foreign Territory—Decrees indemniſying the German Princes revoked—Unity of the Republic—Buzot's Motion for the Baniſhment of the Orleans' Branch of the Family of the Bourbons—Decree in Conſequence—M. de Seze added to the Counſel for the King—The Duke of Orleans enters into an Engagement to vote for the King's Death—England accuſed of hoſtile Diſpoſitions.

THE Commiſſioners charged to draw up the Act declaratory of the crimes of which the King was accuſed, firſt preſented on the 10th of December, in the form of a report or introductory memoir, a pretended hiſtorical narrative of his Majeſty's conduct from the commencement of the Revolution. This atrocious libel was only a recapitulation of the reports already made by *Goyer*, *Valazé*, *Mailhe*,

Mailhe, and the Commiſſion of the Twelve, relative to the papers found in the iron-cloſet. I will not repeat, nor need I refute, thoſe diſguſting calumnies, thoſe abſurd declamations which denounced *Louis* XVI. to the people *as a ferocious tyrant, inceſſantly adding crime to crime, to retard the progreſs of liberty; forming, directing, and executing a plan of conſpiracy, which was to annihilate the State**. The drawing up of the Act of Impeachment not being completed, the reading and diſcuſſion of it was appointed for the next day at eight o'clock in the morning, that the King's examination, which was fixed for that day, and expected with the moſt ſcandalous impatience, might not be deferred.

It would be uſeleſs to report this Act of Impeachment, as it contains no new fact, and as all thoſe mentioned in it are to be found in the King's examination. *Marat*, in a moment of abſence, no doubt, ſtrongly inſiſted that the articles of impeachment relative to facts anterior to the acceptance of

* *Lindet's* Report in the Sitting of the 10th of December.

the

the Conſtitution ſhould be ſuppreſſed, as being included in the amneſty decreed by the Conſtituent Aſſembly. He moved alſo that all thoſe which were not ſufficiently aſcertained ſhould be left out, as they could not but weaken thoſe that were fully eſtabliſhed. He had not conſidered that this would reduce the Act of Impeachment to a few facts abſolutely inſignificant; he had forgotten that the death of *Louis* XVI. had been expreſſly voted by all his Judges before his trial had commenced; that he had been arraigned only for the ſake of form; that conſequently there was no farther occaſion to ſeek for proofs for impeaching him, and that all that was to be done was to declare him guilty and condemn him. Be this as it may, *Marat*'s motion, reaſonable as it was, was neither ſeconded nor oppoſed. The Members near him perſuaded him to give it up, and the Act of Impeachment was adopted, with no other alteration than that of throwing out of it the King's letter to the Biſhop of *Clermont*. This was ordered on the motion of the Deputy *Serre*, who repreſented that there ſhould be no mention made of religion in this Act, unleſs

it

it was intended that *Louis* XVI. ſhould one day be canonized. This conſideration induced the Aſſembly to decree, that inſtead of the letter itſelf the article of impeachment deduced from it ſhould be ſubſtituted, and it was drawn up in theſe words: "The "nation accuſes you of having manifeſted "the deſire and will of recovering your "former power."

In the morning of the 11th of December, as ſoon as the clock ſtruck five, the drums began to beat in all the ſtreets of Paris; the National Guards were all in motion, and a troop of horſe, with cannon, were marched into the garden of the Temple. This parade was neceſſary to keep up in the minds of the people the idea that there ſtill exiſted great plots, and that there were armed conſpirators, who were only waiting a favourable occaſion to aſſemble and carry off the King; although, on the contrary, the ſmall number of Royaliſts who had eſcaped the maſſacres of September, and ſtill remained in Paris, lived in the moſt obſcure retirement: trembling for their own lives, and ſuſpicious of everywhere meeting aſſaſſins or ſpies, they thought only of concealing themſelves.

Dread

Dread and ſtupor had reduced their Royaliſm to wiſhes as ſterile as ſecret for their unfortunate Monarch.

At eleven o'clock two Municipal Officers went into the King's room, while he was giving his ſon a leſſon, and told him *that they were come for young Louis, to carry him to his mother.* His Majeſty deſiring to know the reaſon of his being taken away, the Municipals replied, that they were executing the orders of the Council-General of the Commune. The King, extremely affected at this ſeparation, which was unexpected, tenderly embraced his ſon, and charged *Clery* to go with him to the Queen.

The Mayor, Procureur, and Secretary of the Commune, ſeveral Municipal Officers, and *Santerre*, Commander of the National Guards, attended by his Aid-de-camps, entered the King's room at one o'clock in the afternoon, and told him that they came to carry him to the Convention by virtue of a decree, which was read by the Secretary, and which enacted that *Louis Capet ſhould be brought to the Bar.* "*Capet* is not my "name," ſaid the King, "but that of one "of my anceſtors. I could have wiſhed, Sir,

" that the Commiſſioners had left my ſon " with me during the two hours I have " paſſed in waiting for you; but this treat- " ment is of a piece with the reſt I have " experienced here for four months paſt. I " am ready to follow you, not in obedience " to the Convention, but becauſe my ene- " mies have the power in their hands *."

It was more than an hour before the King, and the numerous body that guarded him from the Temple, arrived at the Aſſembly. In the mean time the Aſſembly, deliberating on the manner in which he ſhould be received and examined, decreed that he ſhould be examined by the Preſident only, and from the Act of Impeachment article by article. The Preſident recommended it to the Aſſembly to aſſume an attitude conformable to the new functions they were about to fulfil. " The eyes of all Europe are " turned upon you," ſaid he; " hiſtory will " record your ſentiments and actions, and " impartial poſterity will decide upon your " conduct with rigid inflexibility. Wiſ-

* See *Clery's* Journal, p. 143, French edit. p. 152, Engliſh edit.

" dom,

" dom, firmneſs, temper, and ſilence, are " the attributes of Judges *. The dignity " of your Sitting ſhould correſpond with " the majeſty of the French people, who are " about to give, through you, a great leſſon " to Kings, and an example of importance " to the enfranchiſement of nations. Citizens " of the galleries! you are partakers of the " glory and liberty of the nation of which " you make a part. The citizens of Paris " will not let this new opportunity of ſhow- " ing their patriotiſm and public ſpirit eſ- " cape: they have but to remember the " terrific ſilence that accompanied *Louis* " when brought back from Varennes; a " ſilence that was the forerunner of the trial " of Kings by nations."

The King was now brought to the Bar, and underwent his examination, which having fully reported elſewhere, I ſhall not

* " Let the ſilence of the grave affright the guilty," exclaimed *Le Gendre*. " As the Convention is not con- " demned to attend to-day to nothing but a King," ſaid *Manuel*, " I think it would be proper to employ " ourſelves on ſome important buſineſs, even though " we ſhould make *Louis* wait when he arrives." His motion was adopted.

repeat here *. His Majeſty returned to the Temple at half after ſix o'clock. What muſt have been his feelings on hearing, when he arrived there, that the Commune had ordered, *that he ſhould have no farther communication with his family; that the valet-de-chambre allowed to ſtay with him ſhould have no intercourſe with any perſon; that the Counſel the Convention may grant him ſhould have communication only with himſelf, and that always in the preſence of the Municipal Officers, and that in conſequence the valet-de-chambre ſhould withdraw as ſoon as they were introduced, the whole family being implicated as accomplices.* As the order was communicated to *Clery* before the King's return, he informed Madame *Elizabeth* of it. "We look for "the worſt," replied the Princeſs, "nor "do we deceive ourſelves as to the fate "preparing for the King; he will die a "ſacrifice to the goodneſs of his heart, and "to his love of his people, for whoſe hap-"pineſs he has never ceaſed to act ſince

* See my Private Memoirs, Vol. III. page 282 to page 308.

"he

" he aſcended the Throne. How cruelly is " this people deceived! As for him, his " religion and full confidence in Providence " will ſupport him in this ſad moment of " adverſity. You, *Clery*," continued ſhe, with her eyes full of tears, " will now be " the only perſon with my brother: redou- " ble, if poſſible, your attentions to him, " and omit no opportunity of giving us " intelligence reſpecting him. Have you " heard any thing relative to the Queen?" added this virtuous Princeſs, in a voice of anxiety and dread. " Alas! what can they " ſay againſt her!"—" Nay, Madam," replied *Clery*, " what can they ſay againſt " the King?"—" Oh! nothing, nothing," ſhe anſwered; " yet perhaps they look upon " the King as a victim neceſſary to their " ſafety; but ſurely the Queen and her " children would be no obſtacle to their " ambition." Her affectionate ſolicitude ſuggeſted to her the idea of leaving one of her handkerchiefs with *Clery*, to be kept while her brother was well; but if he ſhould be ill, to be ſent to her with the Dauphin's linen, and folded in a particular manner, as agreed upon, to denote the na-

ture of the malady that ſhould attack his Majeſty.

While this affecting ſcene was paſſing at the Temple, the public were reading in the newſpapers the following letter from the Duke of *Orleans:*

"Paris, Dec. 9, Firſt Year of the Republic.

"*L. P. J. Egalité to his fellow-citizens.*

"Several Journals have taken pains to "publiſh that I have ambitious deſigns ini- "mical to the liberty of my country; that "in the event of the death of *Louis* XVI. "I am ſtanding behind the curtain to place "my ſon or myſelf at the head of the Go- "vernment. I ſhould not take the trouble "of defending myſelf againſt ſuch charges, "did they not tend to ſow diviſion and diſ- "cord, to give birth to parties, and to "impede the eſtabliſhment of the ſyſtem of "equality, to which the French look for "happineſs, and the foundation of the Re- "public. Here then follows my profeſſion "of faith on this head; it is the ſame as in "the year 1791, towards the concluſion of "the Conſtituent Aſſembly; the words I "pronounced in the Tribune are theſe: *I*

"*do*

" *do not ſuppoſe, Gentlemen, that your*
" *Committees mean to deprive any relation*
" *of the King of the power of chooſing*
" *between the quality of French citizen,*
" *and the right of ſucceſſion to the Throne,*
" *whether apparent or contingent. I*
" *move, therefore, that you reject altoge-*
" *ther the article propoſed by your Com-*
" *mittees relative to the French Princes,*
" *but ſhould you adopt it, I declare that I*
" *ſhall lay upon the table my formal renun-*
" *ciation of the rights of a Member of*
" *the reigning dynaſty, to adhere to thoſe*
" *of a French citizen.*

" My children are ready to ſign with
" their blood that they are of the ſame ſen-
" timents as myſelf.

L. P. J. EGALITE."

In order to inſpire more confidence in this declaration, ſome truſty emiſſaries of the Duke of *Orleans*, mingling with the Clubs and popular groups, gave him a genealogy very conformable to the ſentiments he profeſſed, aſſerting that he was the ſon of a coachman, and ſhould conſequently be regarded as a true *Sans-culotte*. Thus did this degraded Prince, not ſatisfied with having

ing deſcended himſelf to the loweſt degree of the moſt ignominious turpitude, endeavour to involve his mother and his children in his ſhame *.

The Revolutionary Journaliſts did not fail to lay great ſtreſs on the extreme tranquillity and profound ſtillneſs of the Capital on the 11th of December. They boldly attributed to the public opinion on the trial of *Louis* XVI. and to the patriotiſm of the Pariſians, this very natural effect of the general ſtupor and terror which was ſpread through all the ſtreets by 20,000 armed men in conſtant motion. The regicides finding that there was no farther obſtacle in the way of their plots, now thought only of accelerating the execution of them. "By allowing "*Louis* XVI. a Counſel," ſaid *Thuriot* in the Sitting of the 12th, "you certainly did "not mean to throw this trial into fetters "and delays of chicanery; I therefore move "that the decrees which have been paſſed "be executed, and that *Louis* XVI. be

* He had entruſted the two eldeſt to *Dumourier*, in whoſe army they had already diſtinguiſhed themſelves for talents and courage

"tried

"tried on Friday or Saturday* at fartheſt. "Foreign nations, for their own liberty, "demand a great example; the tyrant muſt "ſhow his head on the ſcaffold." This motion, although warmly ſupported by the general plaudits of the galleries, was not adopted, and the Aſſembly, after a ſhort debate, decreed that four of their Members ſhould go immediately to the Temple to acquaint *Louis* XVI. with the decree permitting him to appoint a Counſel, and to deſire him to name immediately the citizen he choſe. *Thuriot* was one of the four Commiſſioners; the three others were *Cambacerés*, *Dubois de Crancé*, and *Dupont de Bigorre*. They inſtantly diſcharged their commiſſion, and reported to the Aſſembly, that the King had pitched upon *Target* to undertake his defence, and in caſe of his declining it on *Tronchet*; and that he requeſted to be furniſhed with pens, ink, and paper. The Aſſembly ordered that the Commiſſioners of the Commune ſhould furniſh *Louis* with pens, ink, and paper, and that they ſhould allow him to communicate freely with his Counſel, *Target* and

* December 15th.

Tronchet;

Tronchet; but they that day determined nothing reſpecting the permiſſion requeſted by his Majeſty to ſee his family.

Notwithſtanding this decree, the Council-General of the Commune, on pretence of their being reſponſible to the Republic at large for the ſafety of the truſt which was lodged at the Tower of the Temple, reſolved on the ſame day, *that* Louis *XVI.'s Counſel ſhould be ſtrictly ſearched even in the moſt ſecret places, and that they ſhould ſtrip themſelves and put on freſh clothes before the Commiſſioners; that they ſhould not quit the Tower till after the King's trial, and that they, as well as the Commiſſioners, ſhould take an oath to ſay nothing of what they might hear.*

This reſolution, worthy of the ſavages by whom it had been paſſed, was ſubmitted the next day (December 13th) to the Convention, among whom it found defenders, ſupported by the plaudits and the clamours of the galleries*. It was, however, diſ-

* Great care was taken during the King's trial to fill the galleries every day with a number of aſſaſſins and brigands, ſelected from among thoſe harboured in the Capital.

approved

approved by the majority of the Aſſembly, and the decree ordaining the free communication of *Louis* XVI. with his Counſel was confirmed.

The Advocate *Target*, whom the King had choſen for one of his defenders, was perhaps the only man in France to whom the Revolution had done juſtice, for it totally overturned the great reputation for talents and learning which he had gratuitouſly acquired under the old ſyſtem, and ſo completely unmaſked his incapacity, awkwardneſs, and all his ridiculous qualities, that one could not look at him without laughing at the air of importance he ſtill affected to preſerve. The King's defence offered him an opportunity of reinſtating himſelf, which was the more favourable, as he had only to appear zealous in it to have rendered himſelf intereſting, obtained the eſteem of worthy men, and reflected great honour on the end of his career. He ought therefore to have conſidered the choice of *Louis* XVI. as a peculiar favour, by which he might have raiſed himſelf from the ſtate of humiliation and ſhame into which he had fallen; but, whether from cowardice or ſtupidity, or recollecting the

credit he had obtained in the year 1771 for his refuſal to plead before the Parliament, eſtabliſhed by the Chancellor *Maupeou*, and flattering himſelf that a refuſal to plead for the King would have a ſimilar effect, he wrote to the Preſident of the Convention, "that being now near ſixty years old, "troubled with nervous diſorders, head-"achs, and ſhortneſs of breath, under "which he had been labouring for fifteen "years paſt, it was impoſſible for him to "undertake the defence of *Louis* XVI., "and that his conſcience obliged him to "refuſe the taſk, as a free man and a Re-"publican could not enter into engagements "which he felt himſelf totally incapable of "diſcharging."

This refuſal excited a general indignation: the very people were ſo ſhocked at it, that a large mob went with rods to *Target*'s houſe, to inflict on him the chaſtiſement wanting to complete his ignominy; but he was appriſed of their intention in time to fly to a friend's houſe, and he eſcaped with the mortification of ſeeing his gate decked with an immenſe number of the inſtruments intended for his flagellation.

At the ſame Sitting in which *Target*'s letter

letter was read, the Aſſembly received another note that excited a very different ſenſation. It was from M. *de Maleſherbes*. That venerable magiſtrate, though infirm and in his eightieth year, ſolely ſwayed by his zeal and fidelity, boldly devoted the remainder of his powers to the defence of his King. The letter, which was addreſſed to the Preſident, was as follows:—

" *Paris, December 11th*, 1792.

" Citizen Preſident,

" I am yet uninformed whether the Con-
" vention will allow the defence of *Louis*
" XVI. to be undertaken by Counſel or
" not. If it be allowed, and the choice
" be left to him, I requeſt that *Louis* XVI.
" may know that, if he thinks proper to
" chooſe me for that office, I am ready to
" undertake it. I do not aſk you to make
" my offer known to the Convention, for I
" am far from thinking myſelf of ſufficient
" importance to engage their attention: but
" I was twice appointed the Counſel of
" him who was my maſter, at a time when
" that office excited a general ambition;
" and it is my duty to offer my ſervice now
" that is thought dangerous by many. If

" I knew

" I knew any mode of making my inten-
" tion known to him, I ſhould not take
" the liberty of applying to you. I imagine
" the place you fill affords you more than
" any other perſon the means of ſending
" him this information. I am, &c.

(Signed)

" LAMOIGNON DE MALESHERBES."

No ſooner was this letter known than the people, tranſported with admiration and gratitude, ran in crowds to the houſe of M. *de Maleſherbes* to applaud and thank him. His gate was covered with wreaths of laurel, which he had previouſly declined accepting.

M. *Sourdat*, a citizen of Troyes, and a worthy man, though leſs known than M. *de Maleſherbes*, made a ſimilar requeſt of the Convention, and dared to ſay in his letter, that a conviction of *Louis* XVI.'s innocence had excited in him the deſire of undertaking his defence*. The Aſſembly charged

* The *Citoyenne Olympia Degouges*, calling herſelf *a free and loyal Republican without ſpot or blame*, and declaring, *that the cool and ſelfiſh cruelty of the Sieur* Target *had enflamed her heroiſm and rouſed her ſenſibility*, wrote likewiſe

charged the Commiſſioners they had before ſent to the Temple to return, and communicate theſe two letters, as well as that of *Target*, to *Louis* XVI., and to learn definitively his choice. The King told the Commiſſioners that he was ſenſible of the offers of the citizens who deſired to be his Counſel, and that he accepted of M. *de Maleſherbes*, whom he would conſult on the choice of another, if M. *Tronchet* could not aſſiſt him; but that advocate, juſtly celebrated not only for his talents, but for the honourable manner in which he had exerciſed his profeſſion, did not heſitate to accept the office to which the King's confidence invited him, and he juſtified by his zeal the choice of his auguſt client. On the 14th of December he had a conference with his Majeſty.

On the ſame day M. *de Maleſherbes* was introduced into the Tower. The moment the King ſaw the venerable old man, the faithful and courageous friend of his maſter,

likewiſe to the Convention, requeſting permiſſion to aſſiſt M. *de Maleſherbes* in the King's defence. The Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day on this requeſt, on the ground of M. *Tronchet*'s acceptance of the office.

he

he ran forward to meet him, preſſed him affectionately to his boſom, and was bathed with his tears. I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe this ſcene, one of the moſt affecting ever preſented by the viciſſitude of human affairs; it will be better conceived by feeling minds than it could be painted by the moſt eloquent pen.

The Convention on the next day fixed December the 26th for the King's laſt examination, and deliberation on the permiſſion he had requeſted of being with his family. They at firſt decreed that it ſhould be granted him; but it was immediately revoked on the remonſtrances of *Tallien* and *Drouet*, the poſtmaſter of Varennes, who maintained that the Queen and Madame *Elizabeth* were implicated in the proceedings, and were to be conſidered as accomplices of *Louis* XVI. He was therefore permitted to ſee only his children, and that too on the barbarous condition that they ſhould have no further communication with their mother or their aunt till after his laſt examination. When the King was informed of this decree, he ſaid to *Clery*, "You ſee 'the cruel dilemma in which they have "placed me. I cannot think of having "my

"my children with me: as for my daugh-
"ter, ſhe is out of the queſtion; and I
"know what pain the Queen would ſuffer
"in giving up my ſon: I muſt make the
"ſacrifice*."

On the 16th, at four in the afternoon, four Members of the Commiſſion of the Twenty-one went to the King with the articles of his impeachment, and the papers annexed to them, to the number of one hundred and ſeven. They were all read, ſigned, and marked on the margin by the King, as was likewiſe a copy of each of them left in his hands. The reading of theſe papers, at which M. *Tronchet* was preſent, laſted till midnight. Some days after, the ſame Commiſſioners went again to the King with fifty-one new papers, which he read, ſigned, and marked as he had done the firſt, and of which copies were left with him. At theſe two meetings his Majeſty acknowledged a great number of the papers, and declared that he did not acknowledge the others, nor did he recollect their contents; and I am not afraid of af-

* See *Clery*'s Journal, page 159, Fr. edit. En. edit. 170.

firming, that in neither the one nor the other was there a ſingle word on which any ſerious charge againſt *Louis* XVI. could be founded. His enemies could not deny it, and in loading his trial with ſo many inſignificant papers, they only meant to impoſe on the multitude by the ſhow of a voluminous maſs of papers, impudently entitled, *Papers of Conviction**.

The regicide faction, foreſeeing that the condemnation of *Louis* XVI. might unite againſt France the Foreign Powers that had remained neuter, flattered themſelves that they ſhould prevent that coalition by alarming all Sovereigns with a Revolution, and by announcing the project of converting the whole of Europe into Republics. This was the object of the famous decree, by which the Convention declared the French Republic in alliance with all nations who

* As ſoon as I heard of M. *de Malesherbes* being appointed Counſel for his Majeſty, I ſent him ſome papers I thought of importance to the intereſting cauſe he had undertaken. See my Private Memoirs, vol. III. p. 234. Among the papers was the Marquis *de Bouillé*'s depoſition, ſworn before the Lord Mayor of London. See Private Memoirs, vol. III. p. 236.

wiſhed to ſhake off the yoke of their tyrants, and promiſed them their protection and aſſiſtance in recovering liberty. The mode of executing this decree, and the inſtructions to be given to the Generals reſpecting the conduct they were to purſue in conquered countries were the object of another decree, which the Aſſembly applauded and unanimouſly adopted. It was paſſed in the Sitting of the 15th of December, on a report made by *Cambon*, the ſpeaker of the united Financial, Military, and Diplomatic Committees, which is too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence: the heads of it are as follows:

" *Dumourier** in entering Belgium announced grand principles of philoſophy; " but he confined himſelf to the publication " of addreſſes to nations; he has hitherto " made no attack on nobility, privileges, " feods, ſervices, &c. all is yet on foot. " Still are thoſe countries governed by the " whole maſs of prejudices, and the people " are conſidered as nothing; that is to ſay,

* *Dumourier* at this time took, in his letters, the title of *General of the Sans-Culottes*. See his letter to *Anacharſis Cloots* in the *Moniteur* of December 20, 1792.

" that we promiſed them indeed to make
" them happy, to deliver them from their
" oppreſſors; but that we have confined
" ourſelves to words. We muſt declare a
" Revolutionary Power in all the countries
" we enter. We ſhould accompany our
" actions with all the luſtre of reaſon and
" national omnipotence. It would be uſe-
" leſs to diſguiſe our progreſs and our prin-
" ciples: the tyrants know them already.
" When we enter into an enemy's country,
" it behoves us to ſound the alarm bell. If
" we do not ſound it, if we do not ſolemnly
" proclaim the downfal of tyrants, and of
" privileged orders, the people, accuſtomed
" to their chains, will not be able to break
" them; they will not dare to riſe. We
" ſhould not give them words without ſome
" effectual aſſiſtance; and if we are indeed
" a Revolutionary Power, whatever exiſts
" contrary to the rights of the people ought
" to be overthrown as ſoon as ever we enter
" the country, conſequently, we ought to
" proclaim our principles by deſtroying all
" tyrannies, and nothing ſhould ſtop us in
" this reſolution. Your Committees think,
" that after expelling the tyrants and their
" ſatellites, the Generals ſhould in entering

" each

" each Commune publiſh a proclamation,
" to convince the people that we bring them
" happineſs, and that they ſhould imme-
" diately ſuppreſs the tithes, feodal rights,
" and every kind of ſervitude: ſtill, if you
" confine yourſelves to deſtroying theſe
" alone you will have done nothing.
" Ariſtocracy governs everywhere; it is
" therefore neceſſary to deſtroy all the exiſt-
" ing authorities. No part of the old
" ſyſtem ſhould ſurvive the appearance of
" the Revolutionary Power. The popular
" ſyſtem muſt be eſtabliſhed, and all the
" authorities filled with different perſons,
" or you will have enemies at the head of
" affairs. You cannot give liberty to a
" country, you cannot remain in it with
" ſafety, if the ancient magiſtrates preſerve
" their powers. It is abſolutely neceſſary
" that the *Sans-culottes* ſhould ſhare in the
" Adminiſtration. Your Committees think
" that in proclaiming the deſtruction of
" abuſes, and of the exiſting authorities,
" it would be requiſite that the nations
" ſhould forthwith be convoked in Primary
" Aſſemblies, and that they ſhould name
" Proviſional Adminiſtrators and Judges.
" In entering a country what ſhould be our

" firſt care? To take the property of our " enemies as a pledge for the expences of " the war; we muſt therefore put under " the ſafeguard of the nation the eſtates, " both real and perſonal, belonging to the " Government, to the Princes and their " abettors, adherents, aſſociates, and vo- " luntary ſatellites, to Lay and Eccleſiaſti- " cal Communities, and to all the accom- " plices of tyranny. You muſt think " that, in conſequence of the ſuppreſſion " of the ancient contributions, the en- " franchiſed nations will have no revenue; " they will have recourſe to you; and the " Committee of Finances think it is ne- " ceſſary to open the public treaſure to all " nations who wiſh to be free. What are " our treaſures? They conſiſt in our terri- " torial property which we have realiſed in " aſſignats; conſequently, in entering a " country, in ſuppreſſing its contribu- " tions, and in offering it a part of our " treaſures to aſſiſt it in recovering its li- " berty, we will offer it our Revolutionary " money; it will become that of all Revo- " lutions; we ſhall then have no occaſion " to purchaſe ſpecie at an immenſe expence. " From that inſtant we ſhall increaſe our

" own

" own power, as we ſhall have channels
" for diminiſhing the maſs of aſſignats cir-
" culating in France; and as the mortgage
" that will ariſe from the property put
" under the ſafeguard of the Republic will
" increaſe the credit of thoſe very aſſignats.
" It would not be prudent to leave to them-
" ſelves a nation unaccuſtomed to liberty;
" we muſt aſſiſt them with our counſels,
" fraternize with them, and, as ſoon as
" Proviſional Adminiſtrators are appointed,
" it will be neceſſary that the Convention
" ſhould ſend them Commiſſioners choſen
" from among themſelves, and the Execu-
" tive Council National Commiſſioners to
" maintain with them the relations of fra-
" ternity. It is poſſible that recourſe may
" be had to extraordinary contributions;
" but in that caſe your Commiſſioners will
" manage with the Proviſional Adminiſtra-
" tors to throw on the rich thoſe contribu-
" tions, that ſome unforeſeen occaſion may
" render neceſſary, and exempt the poor and
" laborious claſs. It is by this we ſhall
" make the people love liberty; they will
" no longer pay any thing, and they will
" rule every thing. But ſtill you will have
" done nothing, if you do not loudly pro-

"claim the ſeverity of your principles "againſt whoever wiſhes but for a half "kind of liberty. You muſt therefore ſay "to thoſe nations who wiſh to preſerve pri- "vileged caſts, *you are our enemies*, and "you muſt treat them as ſuch, as they do "not wiſh either for liberty or equality. "If, on the contrary, they ſeem diſpoſed "to a free ſyſtem, you ought not only to "give them aſſiſtance, but to aſſure them "of a laſting protection. Declare ſolemnly "to them that you will never treat with "their former tyrants, and that we will all "periſh rather than ſtipulate with the op- "preſſors of the people."

This report, and the plan for a decree which followed it, were heard with enthuſiaſm, and applauded at almoſt every ſentence, as well as the plan for the proclamation, which the Generals were to addreſs to *the nations recovered to liberty*. The Aſſembly adopted the proclamation; but they did not think it enough to proclaim the abolition of the feodal rights, ſervitude, &c.; and they therefore decreed that the abolition of nobility itſelf, and of all its privileges, ſhould be added to the decree, and likewiſe the ineligibility of all perſons formerly

formerly nobles or members of privileged corporations to any place whatever in the New Adminiſtrations.

The Aſſembly, conſidering the revocation of all the decrees by which indemnities had been granted to the German Princes for the ſuppreſſion of their feodal rights in France as a natural conſequence of the decree now paſſed, enacted that revocation immediately, and thus completely put an end to the difficulties which, for two years, had attended all the negociations relative to that buſineſs. By another decree, on the ſame day, the pain of death was enacted againſt whoever ſhould propoſe or attempt to deſtroy the unity of the French Republic, or detach from it integral parts to be annexed to a foreign territory. "This law," ſaid *Buzot*, "is very proper for preventing "the diſmemberment of the Empire; but "it does not reach the Royaliſts, it does "not diminiſh the greateſt danger which "the Republic has to experience, the re-"turn of deſpotiſm. If you will permit "me, I will propoſe to you a new meaſure "which I think ſalutary." *Yes, yes, yes,* cried all the Members of the Aſſembly. "A great act of National vengeance," continued

tinued he, "will ſoon be accompliſhed. "Juſtice, which has been too long a terror "to the weak, againſt whom alone it was "exerciſed, is at length about to fall upon "the heads of Kings, and to conſecrate "her ſword to the defence of equality. "The Throne is overturned; the tyrant "will ſoon be no more. Take care, deſ-"potiſm is ſtill alive, and the Conſtitution "is not yet made."

He then put the Aſſembly in mind, that Rome, after the expulſion of *Tarquin*, was not contented with decreeing the pain of death againſt whoever ſhould propoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of Royalty, but had baniſhed all his family from the territory of the Republic. He propoſed to the Convention to follow this example. "You have," ſaid he, "ſacrificed *Louis* XVI. to the pub-"lic ſafety; to that ſafety you alſo owe the "baniſhment of his family. Were any "exception to be made, it certainly ſhould "not be in favour of the branch of *Orleans*; "for even the circumſtance of its being the "more beloved, renders it the more alarm-"ing to liberty. From the very com-"mencement of the Revolution *Orleans* "attracted

" attracted the regards of the people; his
" buſt, which was carried through Paris
" on the very day of the inſurrection, pre-
" ſented a new idol. He was ſoon after
" accuſed of projects of uſurpation, and if
" it be true that they were not conceived by
" him, it appears at leaſt that they did
" exiſt, and that they were concerted in his
" name. For theſe reaſons it is impoſſible
" for *Philip* to live in France, without
" alarming liberty. If he loves it, if he
" has been of ſervice to it, let him complete
" his ſacrifice, by removing from our ſight
" a deſcendant of the *Capets*. Liberty,
" acquired only by ſtruggles, I ſhould ſay
" by adverſity, proud as the virtue with
" which ſhe ſupports herſelf, like love, ad-
" mits no rival; the nation which adores
" her without jealouſy will ſoon loſe her;
" and to be vigilant in removing whatever
" may give her umbrage, is the firſt canon
" of her worſhip. I move that *Philip* and his
" ſons quit the Republic, and bear elſewhere
" the misfortune of having been born near
" the Throne—of poſſeſſing a name which
" might ſerve to rally the factious, or the
" emiſſaries of neighbouring Powers, and
" with

" with the ſound of which, the ear of a free " man ſhould no longer be wounded."

This motion violently agitated the Aſſembly for ſeveral days, and was ſucceſſively adopted, rejected, and adjourned by ſeveral incompatible decrees. The moſt violent regicides declaring themſelves for the Duke of *Orleans*, maintained that as he had been regularly elected a Member of the Convention, the Aſſembly could not exclude him from it on any pretence whatever, without giving a blow to the ſovereignty of the nation, of which he was a Repreſentative. They dwelt alſo on the ſervices which he had rendered to the Revolution, thoſe that might be ſtill expected from him, and moved for the adjournment of the queſtion. When they ſaw that *Buzot*'s motion had an immenſe majority in its favour, they had recourſe to the turbulent and ſeditious manœuvres which the majority never employed without ſome ſucceſs in thoſe Aſſemblies; they mixed with the debate a motion for the diſmiſſion of *Paſche* and *Roland*, in order to intereſt the partizans of thoſe two Miniſters in the adjournment they threatened, and groſsly inſulted thoſe who ſupported *Buzot*'s motion;

motion, they demanded the call of votes, and at length, by means of clamour and tumult, obtained the adjournment of the queſtion reſpecting the Duke of *Orleans* ſolely for two days; that relative to the Miniſters was adjourned indefinitely, and the Aſſembly concluded their Sitting at half paſt ſix o'clock in the evening with the following decree:

"All the Members of the family of the "*Bourbons Capets* who are now in France, "thoſe excepted who are detained at the "Temple, and upon whoſe fate the Con-"vention have taken time to decide, ſhall "in three days quit the Department of "Paris, and in a week the territory of the "Republic, and alſo the territory occupied "by her armies."

At the opening of the following Sitting ſome Members of the minority moved for the Report of the decree paſſed the day before; and M. *de Sillery* declared that he would ſhow the Convention the ſnares into which they had been drawn by paſſing that decree; but the reading of the Minutes drawn up by the Commiſſioners ſent to the Temple to preſent to *Louis* XVI. the papers which had not been communicated to him

at the Bar, engaged the greater part of this Sitting. Letters from the Generals were alſo read, and one from the Counſel for the King, declaring that it was impoſſible for them, without the aſſiſtance of a third Counſel, to go through the buſineſs of an impeachment which included ſuch a number of articles; and they requeſted that M. *de Seze*, whom the King had choſen, might be added to them, which the Aſſembly agreed to.

The two days intervening between the adjournment and the reſuming of the diſcuſſion relative to the Duke of *Orleans*, were employed in intrigues and manœuvres of every kind, not only to prevent his baniſhment, but to obtain a repeal or modification of the decree paſſed againſt his family; to which they who had been the means of it conſented, on condition that *Philip Egalité* and his friends ſhould enter into an engagement to vote for the death of the King. This horrible engagement was made, and ſecured the majority for the Regicide faction *.

During

* The Abbé *Sieyes* took no part in this execrable tranſaction, but he knew of it. He ſpoke of it to a perſon

During this negociation the agents of the Duke of *Orleans* in the 48 Sections of the Capital obtained a Reſolution, charging the Commune to preſent an addreſs in their name to the Aſſembly, ſtating the wiſh and the right of the citizens of Paris to preſerve a Repreſentative of their choice in the National Convention, and demanding the revocation of the decree concerning the family of *Philip Egalité*. The diſcuſſion was reſumed in the Sitting of the 19th of December. *Buzot*, who had moved for the decree in queſtion, conſented without heſitation that it ſhould be again ſubmitted to the deliberation of the Aſſembly. *Robeſpierre*, *Marat*, *Rewbell*, and *Petion*, ſpoke in favour of the Duke of *Orleans*. *Lanjuinaie* alone ſpoke for the confirmation of the decree; and it was determined almoſt unanimouſly that the execution of it ſhould be ſuſpended till after the King's trial. This decree, which enſured nothing to the Duke of *Orleans*, even in the caſe of his fulfilling his engagement with the regicides, announced to him very

perſon formerly connected with him, who ſaw him at that period, and it was by that perſon I was informed of it.

clearly,

clearly, that if he failed in it, his baniſhment and that of his family were certain.

Theſe debates were interrupted by the reading of a Memorial of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, the object of which was to inform the Aſſembly of the armaments lately ordered by the Britiſh Government, and of the hoſtile diſpoſitions it began to manifeſt towards France. Private agents, whom the Executive Council kept in England, and who had had ſecret conferences with the Miniſters in that country, had reported that the complaints that ſerved as a pretence for thoſe extraordinary armaments *, were chiefly three; namely, 1ſt, the opening of the Scheld; 2dly, the decree of the 19th of November, by which the Aſſembly had promiſed protection and aſſiſtance to all nations deſirous of recovering their liberty; 3dly, the deſigns which the French Republic was ſuppoſed to have relative to Holland. The Executive Council had replied to the firſt point by arguments pretended to be founded on the rights of nature, on the law of na-

* Theſe armaments conſiſted of an addition of four ſhips to the number neceſſary for the different ſtations.

tions,

tions, on all the principles of juſtice and liberty conſecrated by the French nation, and which could not be deſtroyed by treaties extorted by avarice, and yielded to deſpotiſm; and that France had a right to expect that England would on this ſubject preſerve the ſilence ſhe had kept in 1785, when the ſame queſtion was agitated hoſtilely by the Emperor *Joſeph* II. The anſwer to the ſecond complaint was, that the execution of the decree of the 19th of November was unqueſtionably juſt in reſpect to nations under the dominion of Powers enemies to France; and that in reſpect to neutral countries, it was clear that it had never been the intention of the National Convention to engage to make the cauſe of ſome Foreign individuals the cauſe of the whole French nation. As for Holland, the Miniſters had obſerved, in anſwer to that point, that it were to be wiſhed that the Britiſh Miniſtry had never meddled more with the internal Government of that Republic, which they had contributed to ſubjugate, than France deſired to meddle with it at this moment. "Finally," added the Miniſter, "I have "authorized the Miniſter of France in "London to declare, in the laſt place, to

" the Britiſh Miniſtry, in the name of the " French Republic, that if, againſt every " expectation, it was the intention of the " Cabinet of St. James's to come to a rup- " ture at all events, as we ſhould then have " exhauſted every explanation to demon- " ſtrate the purity of our intentions, and " our reſpect for the independence of other " Powers, as it would be evident that a war " would be entirely a war of the Britiſh " Miniſtry alone againſt us, we ſhould not " fail to make a ſolemn appeal to the Eng- " liſh nation, and refer to the tribunal of " their juſtice and generoſity the trial of a " cauſe in which a great nation would be " ſeen ſupporting the rights of nature, juſ- " tice, liberty, and equality, againſt a Mi- " niſtry who would not have entered into " the diſpute but from motives of mere " perſonal convenience; that in ſhort we " ſhould make the Engliſh nation judge " between them and us, and that the trial " of ſuch a cauſe might be productive of " conſequences not foreſeen by the Cabinet " of St. James's."

This Diplomatic arrogance was warmly applauded by the Aſſembly, and by the patriots of the galleries, to whom the ſtyle

ſtyle of it was congenial; but it had not the ſame ſucceſs in England, and did not a little contribute to render the war againſt France popular.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The King brought to the Bar of the Convention — His Addreſs to the Aſſembly—Its Effect — Lanjuinais' Speech — Uproar in the Aſſembly — Petion's Speech—Reſolution of the Section of the Luxembourg — Declaration of the Chevalier Ocariz—Thuriot's Motion—Deputation from Eighteen Sections of Paris —Speeches addreſſed by the Heads of it to the Aſſembly—Extracts from Barrere's Speech—Obſervations on them—The Gironde Party denounced—Report of the Municipality on the State of the Capital —Letter from Dumourier.

THE interval that elapſed between the two examinations of the King, may, perhaps, be conſidered as that period of the Revolution in which, of all others, the greateſt number of crimes was committed. How many manœuvres, how many infernal machinations had thoſe wretches, ſo athirſt for the blood of this unfortunate Monarch, recourſe to, in order to induce, partly by promiſes and partly by threats, all thoſe Members of the Aſſembly whoſe votes were yet uncertain, but whom gain or ambition might ſeduce, or terror conſtrain, to ſupport the motion for his condemnation! Yet, at that very moment, and in his priſon, did *Louis* XVI. before the Supreme Being forgive all thoſe outrages and perſecutions of which he was the object, and wrote theſe immortal words*:—"My ſoul "forgives all thoſe who have ſhown themſelves mine enemies, and have perſecuted "me without cauſe, and I implore Al"mighty God to forgive them alſo. I

* See the Will of *Louis* XVI.

" heartily adviſe my ſon, if ever he have " the misfortune to be King, to keep in " mind, that he is bound by the ſtrongeſt " obligations to promote the happineſs of " his fellow-citizens, and that it is his duty " to blot out from his memory all hatred " and reſentment, but more eſpecially all " that may have reference to the ſufferings " and ſorrows which I now endure."

The Aſſembly decreed on the 25th of December, that the King ſhould be brought to the Bar the next day at nine o'clock in the morning, to undergo his laſt examination. He conſequently appeared there at the opening of the Sitting, accompanied by his three advocates, by the Mayor, and by the commanding officer of the National Guard, *Santerre*. The Preſident announced to him, that in conformity to the decree of the Convention, he was going to be heard for the laſt time. " My Counſel will read my " defence," replied his Majeſty. *Deſeze* then ſpoke, and his arguments, although neceſſarily arranged in ſo great a hurry, that he ſcarcely had time to write them over, placed the innocence, the virtues, and the inviolability of the King in the cleareſt light, at the ſame time expoſing the falſehood and

abſurdity of all the heads of impeachment drawn up againſt him, and the impoſſibility of the Convention's giving any judgment whatever upon the trial, not only from want of authority in themſelves, and there not being any law in exiſtence which could apply to *Louis* XVI., but alſo from his accuſers having no right to conſtitute themſelves his judges*. They could only therefore be regarded as his aſſaſſins,—and his aſſaſſins they were reſolved to be.

As ſoon as *Defeze* had done ſpeaking, the King roſe and ſaid: "The particulars of "my defence are before you; I ſhall not "repeat what has been ſaid. In ſpeaking "to you, perhaps for the laſt time, I de- "clare that my conſcience reproaches me "not, and that thoſe who have ſpoken in "my behalf have aſſerted nothing but what "is ſtrictly true. My conduct has never "ſhrunk from public inveſtigation; but "my heart is torn with anguiſh to think "that I ſhould be accuſed, in the act of "impeachment, of having endeavoured to "ſhed the blood of the people; and it "wounds me ſtill more to find that the

* See *Defeze*'s defence of the King at the end of this Volume.

" diſaſters of the 10th of Auguſt ſhould be " attributed to me. I muſt ſay, that, " from the repeated proofs of my love for " the people, and from the manner in which " I have ſtill conducted myſelf, I have " thought you muſt have been convinced " how little heſitation I have all along felt " in expoſing my perſon, ſo that I might " ſpare the effuſion of their blood, and " ward off ſuch an imputation from my " character for ever."

Theſe words, delivered with an accent of truth, with tenderneſs, and with a ſenſibility that had too much reaſon to be hurt, ſo ſtrongly affected that part of the auditors whoſe ſouls were not wholly ſhut againſt every ſentiment of humanity, that even in the galleries there were ſeen perſons whoſe eyes were inflamed with weeping. The regicides turned pale with apprehenſion; for they could not doubt but that, if *Louis* XVI. had ſpoken two minutes longer in the ſame ſtrain, the galleries would have reſounded with *Vive le Roi*!*

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* Ever ſince the 6th of December, the day on which the Municipal officers, in obedience to an order from the New Commune, had taken away all ſharp inſtruments

The Preſident, whom they warned of this danger, haſtened as faſt as he could to the cloſe of the examination. He ordered a bundle of keys to be ſhown to his Majeſty, that were found in the houſe of *Thyerry*, his valet-de-chambre, and amongſt which was that of the iron preſs. *Louis* XVI. when called upon to ſay, whether he recollected them, anſwered, that he remembered to have ſent ſome keys to *Thyerry* whilſt he was at the Feuillans, but that ſo long a time having elapſed ſince the event, he could not call them to mind. The Preſident then aſked him whether he had any thing further to offer in his defence; and, upon his Ma-

ments from the King, he had been obliged to ſuffer his beard to grow, which was become ſo long, as to have rendered it almoſt impoſſible to have known him. Had he appeared at the Bar in that condition, as *Clery* adviſed him, it is poſſible that ſo ſhocking a proof of the cruelty with which he had been treated might have made ſuch an impreſſion as might have increaſed the effect of the moving words which he uttered; but his Majeſty conſidered it as derogatory to his dignity to make uſe of any expedients of the kind in order to give intereſt to his ſituation, and deſired *Clery* to aſk for ſome razors. The Commune gave permiſſion for his having ſome delivered to him, upon condition that he ſhould make uſe of them only in the preſence of two Municipal officers.

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jeſty's anſwering in the negative, he ſaid to him, *You may withdraw.* *Louis* XVI. was immediately led into the conference chamber, and, a few minutes after, the Aſſembly decreed that his defence, ſigned by himſelf and his advocates, ſhould be laid upon the table, and that he ſhould be immediately conducted back to the Temple.

The Convention, not having determined upon what ſtep they ſhould take next, after having heard the King's defence, the debate opened with the queſtion as ſoon as he was gone out, and the unreſtrained violence with which it was carried on preſented the moſt ſavage and ſhocking ſcene poſſible to be conceived. *Duhem*, *Bazire*, *Thuriot*, *Billaud*, *Le Gendre*, *Julien*, *Duqueſnoi*, *Choudieu*, and *Bourdon*, backed by the vociferations of many other regicides, and by all the brigands, with whom the galleries were filled, roared out repeatedly that judgment ſhould be paſſed inſtantly without any further delay, not by diſcuſſion, but by calling over the votes upon this ſingle queſtion, Shall *Louis* be put to death? *aye*, or *no*. *Lanjuinais*, a Republican fanatic, but not ſo blood-thirſty as theſe cannibals, ſpoke undauntedly amid this horrid tumult, and had

had the courage to aſſert that the Convention had too inconſiderately decreed that they would try *Louis* XVI., for it it was clearly demonſtrated that they were not competent, neither were they in poſſeſſion of any powers whatſoever which could authoriſe them to give any judgment at all in the buſineſs, and that therefore they ought directly to ſet about revoking the ſenſeleſs, haſty decree which they had paſſed. "Beſides," added he, "have you a right to ſit as the judges "of a defenceleſs man, of whom many of "you have avowed yourſelves the poſitive "and perſonal enemies, by having con- "certed the attack of his dwelling, and "openly boaſted of it? You cannot offi- "ciate any longer either as judges, coun- "ſel, accuſers, a jury of accuſation, or "a jury of trial, having all of you, or "nearly all, diſcloſed your ſentiments, and "ſome of you with a ſhameful inveteracy. "I have heard much talk about the ſafety of "the people, and many political conceits. "It is pretended that you are in this in- "ſtance to act as Legiſlators and not as "Judges. Does policy require that the "Convention ſhould diſgrace themſelves? "Does policy inſiſt upon the Convention's

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" ſhutting their eyes againſt all probable " diſadvantages, againſt thoſe calamities " which may reſult from the variety and " aſtoniſhing verſatility of public opinions? " There is moſt aſſuredly but one remove " in public ſentiment, from hatred and rage " to love and pity. I move that the Aſſem- " bly, repealing the decree by which it was " determined that they would try *Louis* " XVI. or amending it, paſs another to " ſignify that they will decide upon his " fate, as a meaſure of general ſafety, two " days after the diſtribution of the memo- " rial you have juſt heard read."

Although *Lanjuinais* had taken the precaution to expreſs throughout his ſpeech many very lofty Republican ſentiments, he was notwithſtanding interrupted every moment by the moſt brutal inſults and menaces. One of his colleagues adopting his opinion obſerved, that the greateſt publiciſts, and eſpecially *J. Jacques Rouſſeau*, had laid it down as an eſtabliſhed maxim, that the people committed an act of tyranny whenever they ſat in judgment upon any one. " *They commit an act of juſtice,*" ſome one replied, " *when they aſſaſſinate a* " *tyrant.*" The majority of the regicide faction,

faction, who were deſirous of dreſſing up this aſſaſſination in the garb of judiciary form, contended againſt the motion of *Lanjuinais*, as well as thoſe of his antagoniſts. The Preſident, whenever he attempted to moderate their vehemence, and to re-eſtabliſh order in the debate, was anſwered with invectives and threats, and accuſed of an attachment to Royalty; and his having the evening before received the King's advocates at his own houſe was repreſented as a crime: they loudly inſiſted upon his leaving the chair, and that he ſhould retreat to the obſcureſt part of the Hall, and hide his ſhame. At laſt being conſtrained to ring his bell, he ſucceeded in putting to the vote the propoſition of opening immediately the diſcuſſion upon the trial of *Louis* XVI. and to continue it, every other buſineſs being laid aſide, until judgments ſhould be pronounced. The decree, drawn up in theſe very terms, was paſſed unanimouſly; but hardly had this taken place, when the confuſion was renewed with the ſame tumultuous violence as at firſt. *Lanjuinais* and his adherents maintained that this decree in no degree affected his motion.

One of them (*Salles*) demanding leave to ſpeak,

ſpeak, in order to give ſome freſh expoſitions of this argument, could not ſucceed in making himſelf heard; his voice was always drowned by the murmurs and clamour of the *Coté-gauche* and of the galleries. "I declare," ſaid he at laſt, "that I am "obliged to ſpeak under the fear of death; "ſuch is the proteſt which I here make." The moſt furious of the regicides were eager to have it inſtantly put to the vote, whether *Louis* were guilty or not, and that the diſcuſſion ſhould involve only the application of the puniſhment; the moderate party contended that it ſhould include all the queſtions of the trial, and that nothing could be determined upon without its being regularly heard. Many ſpeakers exerted themſelves at once with all the ſtrength of voice they poſſeſſed, but could not obtain a hearing.

In the midſt of this horrible uproar *Petion*, the faithful friend of the people, deſired to ſpeak; but the people would not hear him, and a number of voices repeatedly exclaimed that the debate was cloſed. He however aſcended the Tribune, when inſtantly the Hall reſounded with cries, "*Down with the King Jerome* "*Petion—we want none of Petion's opi-*

"*nion;*

"[*nion; down, down, the debate is closed.*" The Assembly, notwithstanding all this, decided that he should be allowed to speak; but at every word he was interrupted by outcries. The President put on his hat and rang his bell, when at last, after a quarter of an hour's endeavour, he obtained leave from the Assembly, and even from the galleries, for *Petion* to speak. "And is it "thus," said he, "that the great interests "of the State are discussed*? Is it then "right, that in questions of this import-"ance, when any one is desirous of pre-"venting those errors which ever accom-"pany resolutions passed in so tumultuous "a manner, he should be suspected, nay "accused of being a bad citizen, a Roya-"list, an enemy to the cause of liberty? "What! is it thus that we persecute, that "we outrage, that we even render ourselves "contemptible? We have all sworn not to "have a King. Who is he that would vio-"late his oath? Who is he that wishes for "a King? No, no, we want none, we will "have none!" *No, no, never*, cried all

* *Let us have no preaching*, again exclaimed a great many Members.

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the Aſſembly at once. Many Members, among whom the Duke of *Orleans* made himſelf particularly conſpicuous, held up their hats, and waved them violently backwards and forwards, to ſhow, in a more energetic manner, that they agreed with *Petion*'s proteſtation, who concluded with moving that a minute ſhould be made to this effect, that the decree which had been juſt paſſed did not at all affect any perſon's opinion, or the incidental queſtion advanced by *Lanjuinais*; and this motion was carried by the decree which terminated this criminal Sitting.

The following day the diſcuſſion opened upon the trial of the King, *Barrere* being Preſident. The regicides had taken care to fortify the galleries with their truſty agents, and to place a ſufficient number of thoſe abandoned fellows in all the avenues of the Hall. The part allotted to them was to give all the Deputies, as they arrived, to underſtand that thoſe who did not vote for the death of *Louis* would be looked upon as traitors to their country, and would be treated as ſuch; the geſture which accompanied theſe words was too plain to be miſunderſtood, and ſerved as a comment upon them.

them *. Six ſpeakers were heard on this day, and as the order of the final reſolution was not yet arranged, they almoſt all came to different concluſions: one of them ſpoke ſolely againſt inviolability; two were deſirous that the following queſtions ſhould be put to the vote: 1ſt, *Is Louis convicted of attempts againſt the National ſovereignty?* 2dly, *If he be, what puniſhment does he deſerve?* They who ſhowed beforehand, by their ſpeeches, that they would give their votes for death when the whole were to be called over, were warmly applauded by a part of the Aſſembly, and by the galleries, obedient to the ſignal which ſome Deputies had the effrontery to give them; whilſt hiſſings, murmurs, invectives, and menaces were employed againſt thoſe who propoſed confinement, exile, an appeal to the people, or a reference to the Primary Aſſemblies for the application of puniſhment. Theſe were already marked out as perſons ſuſpected of an attachment to Royalty, for the animadverſion of the populace! Juſt Heaven! what Royaliſts were they,

* The ſervice of theſe hired aſſaſſins was continued to the laſt Sitting of the King's trial.

who had not the courage to attack a ſingle head of impeachment, of all thoſe which had been drawn up againſt *Louis* XVI. although his advocate had refuted the whole by arguments that were unanſwerable, and by proofs the moſt evident! What Royaliſts muſt ſuch perſons be, who in their cowardly moderation ventured to ſpeak of *Louis* leſs as of an accuſed perſon whoſe trial was pending, than as of a convicted criminal whom they had only to condemn *.

This Sitting was nearly as ſtormy as the preceding, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Preſident, and the expreſſions which he made uſe of to eſtabliſh order, which were well adapted to conciliate to himſelf the favour of the regicides, who were the only authors of the confuſion. "I muſt put "citizens in mind," ſaid he to them, "that "this is a kind of *funeral ſolemnity*; all

* As it is not my intention to burden this work with uſeleſs extracts of all the ſpeeches delivered upon the King's trial, I ſhall content myſelf with citing the moſt remarkable. An alphabetical table of the laſt call of votes will give ſufficient inſight into the opinions of the voters. See Appendix, No. XXXVIII.

" clapping and murmur are forbidden." In vain did he put on and pull off his hat. The clappings and clamours of the galleries were ſtill far above the ſound of his bell; and to ſuch a pitch were all minds heated, that the different parties ſeemed every moment likely to come to blows. A number of Members who were ſeated on that ſide of the Hall where ſilence had as yet been preſerved, quitted their place, and went over to the oppoſite ſide, tumultuouſly exclaiming, *We inſiſt upon knowing the reaſon of this ſcandalous behaviour.* At the ſame inſtant the Aſſembly, tranſported with indignation, roſe altogether, manifeſting their emotions by their geſtures. The Preſident again put on his hat, waved his hand, and once more rung his bell. At length the ſeditious held their tongues, and all was calm again: advantage was taken of this interval to propoſe ſuch meaſures as might tend to prevent any repetition of ſuch diſgraceful procedure; when, after ſome tedious debates, the Aſſembly decreed, that whenever any Member ſhould be cenſured for having been the cauſe of diſturbance in a Sitting, the decree of cenſure ſhould be ſent to the 84 Departments.

Whilſt this hateful ſcene was acting in the Convention, the Section of the Luxembourg, doubtleſs compoſed of perſons ſelected from among the moſt furious aſſaſſins, reſolved, and bound themſelves by an oath, to ſtab *Louis* XVI. if the Aſſembly did not condemn him to be brought to the ſcaffold; and this reſolution was addreſſed to all the other Sections, inviting them to take part in it *.

The Sitting of the 28th of December opened with the reading of a letter from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, who had ſent an account to the Convention of the iſſue of a negociation entered into with the Court of Spain, in order to obtain from her a formal declaration of her neutrality throughout the war, and a promiſe of withdrawing the troops with which her frontiers were lined, made under a proviſo that France on her ſide

* Whilſt I recount thoſe execrable ſentiments, which Revolutionary writers have conſidered only as the effervelcence of too high principled a patriotiſm, my mind feels horror, my hand trembles, my pen falls, my mind wanders—I look for a dagger and for blood to finiſh the horrid recital; but—the will of *Louis* XVI. is before my eyes—I there read that he forgave them!

would

would bind herſelf by the ſame engagements. The Chevalier *Ocariz*, Ambaſſador from the Spaniſh Court, had received both the declaration and the promiſe; but the Duke *d'Alcudia* had communicated to the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of France at Madrid, that the motive *which had induced his Catholic Majeſty to unite with France, had been only to enable himſelf, by ſuch an alliance, to gain ſome influence in the deciſion of the fate of the former King his couſin*; and the Chevalier *Ocariz* having received inſtructions to make the ſame declaration to the French Government, had fulfilled them, in a very energetic letter which he addreſſed to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, requeſting him to tranſmit it to the Convention. The following are the terms in which this noble and loyal Chevalier ſpoke of the trial of *Louis* XVI.

" What will moſt contribute to conſoli-
" date this union, in which the two States
" and all Europe are ſo materially intereſted,
" is the iſſue of the memorable tranſaction
" which at this time France is engaged in,
" and which attracts the attention of every
" nation. The momentous trial which is
" to decide the fate of him who is the head

" of the family of the Bourbons, cannot
" be ſuppoſed to be a matter of indifference
" to the King of Spain; and his Majeſty
" apprehends not that he ſhall be accuſed of
" interfering in the Government of a coun-
" try which does not belong to his Empire,
" when, in behalf of his relation and for-
" mer ally, he offers an interpoſition which
" can diſpleaſe none but thoſe whoſe ſouls
" are ſhut againſt every ſentiment of mora-
" lity and compaſſion. It is then, in the
" name of the King of Spain, that, with-
" out allowing myſelf to launch into any
" of thoſe diſcuſſions which might perhaps
" be regarded as coming improperly from
" the mouth of a ſtranger, I ſhall confine
" myſelf to laying before you ſome few re-
" flections, founded upon juſtice, upon the
" rights of nations, and upon the general
" intereſts of humanity. If there exiſt
" men by whom theſe intereſts are regarded
" as of no account, thoſe men alone can
" diſapprove of the concern and importance
" with which the trial of *Louis* XVI. is
" contemplated; and it may be ſaid to them
" in anſwer, that they themſelves attach to
" it a ſtill greater ſhare of both, although of
" a different nature, ſince they have burdened

" it

" it with irregularities which they would
" have eſteemed themſelves highly culpable
" to have ſuffered in any other trial. Theſe
" deviations from law and juſtice have been
" powerfully combated by many French-
" men and Members of the National Con-
" vention, who publicly expreſſed their
" objections upon the ſubject; and they
" cannot fail to ſtrike the notice of all ra-
" tional and unprejudiced perſons in all
" other nations. That an accuſed perſon
" ſhould be tried by judges who are ſelf-
" appointed, and many of whom have not
" ſcrupled to publiſh their opinion, clothed
" with every expreſſion of hatred and par-
" tiality; that a perſon who is accuſed
" ſhould moreover be condemned without
" any pre-exiſting law, and upon the
" ſtrength of crimes, the pretended proofs
" of which I ſhall not think of examining,
" but which, were it poſſible that they
" could be proved, would in no degree af-
" fect that inviolability which a law uni-
" verſally aſſented to attaches to his
" ſtation; is ſo diametrically oppoſite to
" all ordinary notions of juſtice, that there
" is no people who reſpect themſelves
" but ought to fear its meeting the view of

" thoſe nations by whom they deſire to be
" reſpected. It cannot be but that the
" whole world muſt with horror witneſs
" the outrages heaped upon a Prince known
" at leaſt for the gentle qualities and good
" nature of his character; which very gen-
" tleneſs and good nature have proved the
" means of precipitating him into that de-
" ſtruction which even the moſt barbarous
" tyrants, with all their guilt and depravity,
" have ever eſcaped. Admitting that *Louis*
" XVI. had fallen into crime, who would
" not conſider it more than expiated by a
" downfall ſo unlooked for, by the heart-
" breaking anxieties which he has ſuffered
" for his wife, for his ſiſter, for his chil-
" dren!—and by what I am bold enough
" to brand as infamous, the cruelties and
" inſults of men who think to aggrandize
" themſelves by profeſſing their contempt
" for thoſe objects of greatneſs which no
" longer exiſt; and who ſeem to have for-
" gotten, that if changes in the political
" inſtitutions of a country exempt it from
" that ancient reſpect which it once thought
" was due to its Kings, no Revolution can
" ever free the virtuous heart from that re-
" verence which it owes to ſorrow and mis-
" fortune!

" fortune! Although thoſe French citizens
" who entertain ſentiments favourable to
" *Louis* XVI. have hitherto thought that
" leſs freedom of ſpeech and compoſition
" has been permitted them, than has been
" allowed to thoſe whoſe opinions have been
" of a contrary principle; and although,
" in conſequence of this, the greater number
" of the former have held their peace, it
" nevertheleſs cannot be concealed that opi-
" nions are ſtill very much divided. If
" then the enemies of this unhappy Prince
" ſhould ſucceed in cauſing the moſt inhu-
" man violations to be put in practice
" againſt him, it yet will be impoſſible for
" them to perſuade foreigners that ſuch
" conduct is to be laid to the charge of the
" nation or of the Government; nor would
" they readily credit any evidence that might
" be adduced, even if they were not to con-
" clude that there exiſts in France ſome
" individuals who are poſſeſſed of more
" authority than the Government, of more
" influence than the nation itſelf: whence
" it becomes an inconteſtable point, that no
" foreign Power can place any reaſonable
" dependence upon the aſſurances of the
" French nation with reſpect to any treaties
" of

" of peace, of alliance, or of commerce,
" which they may conclude with it; whilſt
" Europe will expect to ſee freſh troubles
" and freſh commotions inceſſantly ariſing
" to threaten its intereſts, and conſtantly to
" diſturb its tranquillity; but, on the con-
" trary, what different effects would an
" equitable, and at the ſame time a mag-
" nanimous, deportment towards accuſed
" Majeſty produce? The preſence only of
" *Louis* XVI. and of his family in thoſe
" foreign countries which they might have
" choſen for their aſylum, would be a living
" teſtimony of the generoſity and the ſove-
" reign power of the French; and would
" teach all men, that your nation knows
" how to blend moderation with victory,
" that none but the nobleſt and moſt bene-
" ficent affections actuate it, that the tri-
" umphs of its arms do not prevent its ſons
" from humbling themſelves before the
" ſhrine of juſtice. The ſentiments of
" eſteem and admiration with which it will
" thus inſpire every people, cannot fail ſoon
" to produce peace, which is what every
" people muſt deſire; and France itſelf, not-
" withſtanding its ſucceſs, muſt ſtand in
" need of. May ſo delightful a hope be
" realized!

realized! It is the wiſh of the King my
" maſter, it is the wiſh of the Spaniſh na-
" tion—of that nation which in its ancient
" character, as always preſerving a reverent
" regard for the principles of juſtice, ſtill
" knows how to appreciate the generous
" paſſions, as well as the ſublime virtues,
" and which hopes that the French nation
" will afford poſterity yet another example
" of that greatneſs, that exalted liberality
" which has hitherto diſtinguiſhed it.
" Attached to each other by the ſame ſen-
" timents, which are ſo much the more
" honourable to the French people, as form-
" ing ſo ſtrong a contraſt to thoſe paſſions,
" thoſe ſuggeſtions which it is their duty
" to reſiſt, how laſting will be the ties of
" amity which will thus connect the two
" nations! How worthy will be then our
" mutual titles, by producing which we
" ſhall ſo draw cloſer and cloſer the cords
" of union! How truly deſerving will each
" be of the other's regard, thus founded
" upon humanity. Theſe are the views
" with which his Catholic Majeſty has
" deemed it honourable for him to com-
" mand that his earneſt, his moſt ardent
" interceſſions in the important affair which

" at

" at this period arreſts the attention of the
" world, be laid before the French Govern-
" ment. If, in my anſwer to the King,
" I ſhould be enabled to announce that the
" wiſhes of his heart have been fulfilled,
" then ſhall I, happy in having been the
" agent of a mediation as humane as it is
" glorious, and rejoicing in having ſo well
" ſerved my own country and yours, ac-
" count this day as the faireſt and the moſt
" cheering of my whole life."

It was with the utmoſt conſtraint upon their emotions that the regicides were at all able to contain themſelves during the reading of this letter. Their rage diſcovered itſelf in all their geſture, and their very bodies writhed with paſſion. Scarcely had the perſon who read it ceaſed, when *Thuriot*, the attorney, exclaimed, " Away with
" all foreign influence! we are bound
" to decide with a firmneſs becoming true
" Republicans. Beware of giving way to
" ideas engendered in the minds of guilt
" and villany. Our principles muſt not be
" ſwayed either by the impulſive urgency of
" the interior of France, or by the motives
" of foreign deſpots. If you decree not
" that a man who has committed every ſpe-
" cies

" cies of crime ſhall periſh upon the ſcaf-
" fold, you betray your obligations, you
" betray the nation. But, above all, ſuffer
" not Miniſters of foreign Courts to form
" a congreſs among us in order to give us
" notice what is the declaration of crowned
" brigands. I move that the Convention
" decree, that whatever memorials be hence-
" forward addreſſed to them relative to the
" great trial before them, not one ſhall
" be read till the fate of *Louis Capet*
" be determined." To this motion ſuc-
ceeded one importing that the agents of
France ſhould treat with thoſe crowned
heads alone who had ſolemnly recogniſed
the Republic. " We no longer treat
" with Kings," ſaid the ſpeaker, " but
" with nations." The majority of votes
were in favour of the reſolution for paſſing
to the order of the day upon the Spaniſh
Ambaſſador's letter, and for referring it to
the Diplomatic Committee.

The vaſt importance to this riſing Re-
public, of ſeparating Spain from the coali-
tion of the ſeveral powers, of being recog-
niſed by her, of forming an alliance with
her, of not being obliged to divide its forces
by detaching from them 40,000 men for

the defence of the ſouthern frontier; the immenſe ſuperiority which theſe 40,000 men would have given to the armies of the Rhine and of Belgium over thoſe of the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, the conſiderable ſaving which would have reſulted from ſuch a junction, and, finally, the dignity which it would have given to the character of the Convention to have acceded to the entreaties of the moſt powerful Sovereigns of Europe, to which England, and the wiſhes of all nations gave their ſupport; all theſe poſitive advantages ought to have prevailed on this Aſſembly to have reſolved upon ſparing the remainder of the King's days, even if he had been guilty of the worſt of crimes, and they had themſelves been legally competent to bring him to trial: and what more intereſting inducement could have offered itſelf to urge them eagerly to ſeize the moſt favourable opportunity that could ever occur of performing a duty which juſtice and humanity, as well as policy, imperatively preſcribed! But this Tribunal without powers, theſe Judges without juſtice, theſe men without humanity, theſe monſters required blood alone, they had no other thought than to aſſaſſinate

no

no other wiſh than to murder as ſpeedily as poſſible the devoted *Louis* XVI. The Ambaſſador's letter, therefore, had no other effect than to increaſe the keenneſs with which they haſtened to finiſh the horrid deed. "Every moment of delay," ſaid *Robeſpierre*, in the ſame Sitting, "is pregnant "with danger, it awakens the corrupt "hopes, and encourages the darings of "the enemies of freedom; it nouriſhes in "the boſom of this Aſſembly dark miſtruſt "and painful ſuſpicion. Harken to the "voice of your alarmed country, who im-"plores you to come to that prompt deci-"ſion which can alone free it from all ap-"prehenſion. What ſcruple ſtill over-"powers your zeal? I will not repeat that "there are forms as ſacred as thoſe of the "Bar; that there are principles as irreverſi-"ble and far ſuperior to thoſe rules to "which prejudice and cuſtom have attached "reſpect; that the authentic trial of a "King is the ſpontaneous and univerſal "impulſe of a people, who, weary of his "tyranny, breaks the ſceptre in the hand "of the tyrant who oppreſſes them, and "this is the moſt certain and moſt equitable "of all trials. *Louis* XVI. was there-

"fore

" fore already tried and condemned by the
" people before you paſſed your decree that
" he ſhould be tried by you."

With theſe atrocious ſophiſms, which never till this time obtained ſo much applauſe, it was ſuperfluous, it was even irregular in the opinion of the regicides to diſcuſs or to refute the defence of *Louis* XVI., or even to inquire into the ſufficiency of thoſe proofs which had been adduced in ſupport of the principal articles of impeachment which had been drawn up againſt him. No; the people had tried him, the people had condemned him, and now nothing remained but to decide upon the puniſhment which he had incurred. *Robeſpierre* made uſe of the ſame argument to oppoſe the motion for an appeal to the people, and that for the reviſion of the trial by the Primary Aſſemblies. " All that I per-
" ceive in theſe ſyſtems," ſaid he, " is the
" project of bringing the work of the people
" to nothing, and of enabling the enemies
" which they have conquered to rally again.
" If you have really that ſcrupulous reſpect
" for the ſovereign will of the people which
" you profeſs to have, evince it by exe-
" cuting the charge which they have con-
" fided

" ſided to your management. It is ſporting " with the majeſty of the ſovereign to " ſend back to them a cauſe which they " have already tried, and which they have " commanded you to bring to a ſpeedy con- " cluſion."

Theſe iniquitous declamations, repeated and commented upon by all the ſpeakers of *Robeſpierre*'s party, were every day ſtrengthened; at one time by addreſſes which arrived from the Provinces, at another by deputations, who came to demand, in the moſt imperious tone, the immediate puniſhment of the King. I will cite, among others, thoſe who were announced as ſent by eighteen Sections of Paris. They preſented themſelves at the Bar, accompanied by pretended patriots wounded on the 10th of Auguſt, and by the widows and children of thoſe who had fallen on that day. The authors of this abominable manœuvre had neglected nothing that might enſure its ſucceſs: ſome idea may be formed of the effect it was calculated to produce, from the harangues which the ſpeakers of the deputation delivered upon the occaſion.

" You ſee before you," ſaid one of them, " widows, orphans, and mutilated patriots

" covered with wounds, who are come to
" demand vengeance: theſe are the victims
" who have eſcaped that death to which
" *Louis* the tyrant had devoted them.
" Hear you not that terrible voice from
" Heaven, which denounces unto you, *He*
" *that ſheds the blood of man, by man ſhall*
" *his blood be ſhed.* The tears of theſe
" widows, the cries of theſe orphans, the
" groans of theſe mangled citizens, the
" ghoſts of many thouſands who have
" ſwelled the ſacrifice of tyranny, all
" through me repeat this commandment of
" nature—liſten to them whilſt they thus
" ſpeak to you:—*Louis* has proved him-
" ſelf a traitor, forſworn, and an aſſaſſin,
" and you yet go on tediouſly diſcuſſing the
" queſtion, whether he ought to undergo
" the puniſhment due to his crimes. All
" human laws demand the forfeiture of the
" lives of aſſaſſins; *Louis*, the branded
" *Louis*, has a thouſand times proved him-
" ſelf ſuch, and you ſtill deliberate! He
" murdered thoſe citizens whom it was his
" duty to defend; for which he muſt die.
" Such, Legiſlators, is the ſentence which
" public morality and the people's juſtice
" pronounce, and which the empty ſubtil-

" ties of his friends and advocates ſhall not " overturn. I requeſt permiſſion for a part " of theſe wretched victims of his perfidies " to paſs before you."

" *Louis* was a King," ſaid another member of the deputation; " that man- " deſtroying race thrive in crimes, and feed " on human blood; ſo long, therefore, as " this regal individual ſhall exiſt, he will " rouſe the efforts of his kind againſt us. " Kings are like Prieſts; they are con- " federates: the former ſacrifice and aſſaſſi- " nate their ſubjects in the name of juſtice, " the latter immolate every thing to their " enthuſiaſm in the name of Heaven. Hu- " manity will never reign on earth until " Kings ſhall ceaſe to be; nor will virtue " bear any ſway whilſt Prieſts are in exiſt- " ence." After this preamble the ſpeaker went on to controvert the King's defence, which no one in the Aſſembly had yet ventured to attack. " *Louis* it is pre- " tended cannot be tried, *becauſe a poſitive* " *law is wanting for that purpoſe:* miſera- " ble ſophiſm, and worthy of thoſe incon- " ſiſtant pleaders of the former legal " ſyſtem who have made uſe of it. The " law of nature was, when advocates and

" mock Legiſlators were not. It is anterior
" to all the edicts and regiſtered decrees,
" all the ſanctioned and conſtitutional
" ſtatutes that ever were, and this law it is
" which wills the tyrant and the aſſaſſin to
" periſh. We demand therefore the pu-
" niſhment of *Louis in the name of all*
" *thoſe human beings who have been cruſhed*
" *in their prime, throughout a reign of*
" *oppreſſion, by hard labour and by want.*
" We demand it *in the name of all thoſe*
" *who, ever ſince the acceſſion of* Louis *to*
" *the throne, have been ſacrificed to the*
" *luxury and prodigality of his Court;*
" *in the name of thoſe patriots who have*
" *been immolated in the Colonies by the*
" *ſword of Counter-revolutioniſts in the*
" *pay of* Louis; *in the name of thoſe*
" *victims who down to the year* 1789 *have*
" *been ingulphed in the State priſons; in*
" *the name of thoſe who have died inno-*
" *cent under the tortures of the rack, till*
" *the moment arrived when public indig-*
" *nation forced him to baniſh from France*
" *that odious ſyſtem; in the name of thoſe*
" *unhappy beings who have periſhed on*
" *the ſcaffold, by the order of ignorant*
" *and iniquitous judges, to whom he gave*
" *the*

" *the authority to adminiſter juſtice; in*
" *the name of all thoſe who have died in*
" *the aſylums of want and diſeaſe, through*
" *the negligence of the governors whom*
" *the abuſes of his reign countenanced;*
" *in the name of thoſe unfortunate ſoldiers*
" *with whom he garriſoned his Palace*
" *on the 9th of Auguſt, in contempt of*
" *the laws, and whom, having intoxicated,*
" *he expoſed to the fury of the people; in*
" *the name of our brethren of the Depart-*
" *ments who have fallen in this war*
" *againſt liberty, undertaken, in concert*
" *with him by the tyrants of Europe, in*
" *order to re-eſtabliſh his abſolute power;*
" *in the name of thoſe widows and orphans*
" *whom his conſpiracies have deprived of*
" *their ſupport; laſtly, we demand his*
" *death in the name of human nature, of*
" *whom he always has been, and will ſtill*
" *prove himſelf, if you do not inſtantly*
" *puniſh him, the ſcourge and the moſt*
" *bitter enemy**."

Such

* The poor lame wretches, picked up for the moſt part in the ſtreets, and ſhewn as the wounded of the 10th of Auguſt, were allowed to paſs through the midſt

Such were the freſh crimes imputed to the King in the name of this ſenſeleſs multitude, who never had the leaſt idea of all that their ſpeakers had uttered for them, and who in fact were altogether incapable of comprehending a ſyllable of the matter. Theſe poor diſabled wretches knew nothing about *human beings who were cruſhed in their prime under a reign of oppreſſion*; they knew only that *Louis* XVI. had never oppreſſed them. The artificers of Paris, whom the Revolution had ruined, by compelling their beſt cuſtomers to leave the country, and who had ſo long procured their principal ſubſiſtence from the *luxury and prodigalities of perſons about the Court**, were far from regarding this as a crime in *Louis* XVI., whoſe moderation and econo-

of the Aſſembly; many, not being able to get over the benches, ſate down amongſt the Deputies, and one or two were carried acroſs the Hall upon a litter.

* In 1791 and 1792, many journeymen goldſmiths, watchmakers, jewellers, gilders, &c. who before earned three or four Louis a week, were reduced to the neceſſity of tilling the ground for no more than twenty ſous per day.

my

my were ſufficiently known to ſecure him from all accuſation on this head. What ignorance or what diſhoneſty muſt it be to lay to his charge *the deaths of a number of perſons falſely ſaid to have periſhed under the tortures of the rack, and of victims ingulphed in the State priſons down to the year* 1789. He too to be thus accuſed, who in the firſt year of his reign aboliſhed torture, and a little time after ſet at liberty all the State priſoners, excepting a ſmall number of ſuch as it was evidently an act both of juſtice and benificence to detain in priſon. On what grounds could thoſe who were the cauſe of the war, of the revolt of the negroes in the colonies, and of the inſurrection on the 10th of Auguſt, dare to demand his death in the name of the victims of all theſe fatal events? And was it not as abſurd as it was wicked to attempt to make *Louis* XVI. reſponſible for abuſes which might without his knowledge, and certainly againſt his intentions, have crept into the regulations of ſome hoſpitals; as well as for inſtances of injuſtice which might have ariſen from the venality of commiſſions eſtabliſhed for more than two centuries previous to his coming to the throne, and

which could not have been diſſolved without increaſing the national debt by the addition of an immenſe ſum of money, which would have been requiſite for the reimburſement of the various offices? Does not then the contemptible inconſiſtency of all theſe reproaches prove, in the moſt inconteſtible manner, that the whole life of *Louis* XVI. did not preſent his enemies with a ſingle action which was really open to the leaſt degree of cenſure.

It is no leſs important to remark, that, in the long ſeries of imaginary crimes, for the puniſhment of which eighteen Sections of Paris had inſolently demanded the death of *Louis* XVI., there was not one of thoſe which made up his act of impeachment, and this was either in conſequence of his advocate having ſo ſolidly refuted the latter, that no one dared to bring them forward again, or that the people might be made to believe that, although not one of the heads of impeachment drawn up againſt *Louis* XVI. was grounded, there yet remained many other charges ſufficiently ſerious to prove him deſerving of death. I can, at leaſt, myſelf affirm, without riſking a contradiction, and I reſt my aſſertion

aſſertion upon the papers of the trial, that is, upon the opinions and ſpeeches delivered or publiſhed by order of the Aſſembly, and of which I have now the whole collection lying before me, that after the 26th of December, the day on which the defenders of the King were heard in the Convention, not any one of the deputies undertook to controvert either the proofs or arguments by which the impoſition and abſurdity of all the heads of impeachment drawn up againſt his Majeſty had been expoſed*. *Barrere* himſelf, who by the tone, plan, and great length of the ſpeech which he delivered after the examination of the King, ſeemed to be deſirous of conſtituting himſelf reporter to the trial, to which none had been appointed, and which had abſolutely been gone through without having been reported†; *Barrere*, the moſt impudent of

* Vide the *Pour et la Contre*, or complete Collections of all the ſpeeches delivered in the Conventional Aſſembly upon the Trial of *Louis* XVI., 7 vol. in 8vo. ſold by *Bouiſſon*.

† *Cobier*, *Maille*, *Dufriche*, *Valazé*, and *Robert Lindet*, reporters of the denunciations made againſt the King, did not, after the decree of impeachment framed upon their reports was paſſed, ſpeak at any length, but merely as ſimple voters.

all

all the regicide declaimers, was not bold enough to attempt refuting the arguments of M. *Deſeze*; and, in order to get rid of the difficulty at once, maintained, *that it was the part of the Commiſſioners of the National Convention who were charged with the truſt of the papers relative to the trial of* Louis, *to anſwer expreſsly to the evaſions employed by his defenders; that it belonged to the truſtees of theſe important papers to make appear the poſitive proofs of the facts which had been expreſſed in the declaratory act**. But theſe Commiſſioners, theſe Truſtees brought forward neither poſitive proofs nor any anſwer whatſoever. It is true, *Barrere*, the worthy agent of *Robeſpierre* and *Marat*, made up for all this defect preciſely after their manner, and much in the ſame ſtyle as, four days before, the ſpeaker of the deputation of the eighteen Sections made uſe of: "It is enough," ſaid he, "to "collect into one point of view what all "eyes have ſeen, what all minds have felt, "what the public indignation has expreſſed, "what the acts of the Legiſlative Aſ-

* Speech of *Barrere*, page 73, vol VI. of the above collection.

"ſembly

" ſembly and the opinions of the National
" Convention have repeated to France and
" to all Europe. All the combined efforts
" of him who had the greateſt intereſt in
" their ſucceſs, and all which his agents
" have made in his behalf, were deſigned
" by one ſingle crime, which had well nigh
" been completed in the month of laſt
" Auguſt, to ſacrifice the whole nation to
" the vengeance of deſpotiſm, to deſtroy
" the right of the people, to check the pro-
" greſs of the public mind, to annihilate
" or pollute every ſource of public intelli-
" gence, and to exterminate all the patriots*."

All eyes had doubtleſs witneſſed the dreadful events of the 10th of Auguſt; but it was neceſſary to have ſeen with the eyes of *Barrere* and his fellows†, in order to have perceived in this execrable conſpiracy againſt the King, and which was ſo ſolemnly unfolded in the Aſſembly by thoſe who planned and managed it, *any perſonal attempt of the King tending to annihilate the rights of the people, and to ſacrifice the*

* Speech of *Barrere*, page 75.

† Unhappily theſe were too numerous in the Aſſembly.

whole

whole nation to the vengeance of deſpotiſm, &c. As to the other charges, ſo often repeated by the Members of the Legiſlative Body, and by thoſe of the Convention, they conſiſted entirely of thoſe calumnies which the advocates of the King had expoſed: it was abſolutely requiſite, therefore, if theſe were to have any influence upon the deciſion of the trial, that the plain proofs which had done them away ſhould themſelves be refuted and got rid of; but they had not been ſo much as diſcuſſed. *Barrere*, foreſeeing this objection, followed the example of the ſpeaker of the eighteen Sections, and preſented a freſh recapitulation of pretended crimes which were not comprehended in the Act of Impeachment of *Louis* XVI. and upon which, of courſe, his defenders had not been heard. "If any "thing were wanting," ſaid he, "to make "up all the characteriſtics of this atrocious "deed, I would call to your recollection "that ſyſtem by which the national repre-"ſentation was to have been made con-"temptible through the means of the jour-"nals of the Civil Liſt, of the emiſſaries "of *Louis*, who haunted all public places, "of the applauſes purchaſed of his hirelings

"in

" in the galleries; I would lay before you
" that ſyſtem of perſecution which was ſo
" long carried on under the ſhelter of the
" laws by corrupt Juſtices of Peace, either
" againſt the trueſt citizens, or the patriotic
" Deputies of the Legiſlature. I would
" ſhew you with what evil intent diſſenſions
" were ſown amongſt the poor and richer
" citizens; I would pourtray the ſpirit of
" Royalty dividing the National Guard of
" Paris; the principles of a *Fayette* extin-
" guiſhing all patriotic fervour throughout
" the frontier countries, and corrupting the
" army; fanaticiſm leading whole families
" into error, and laying waſte the land;
" the Conſtituted Powers cold in the exe-
" cution of their duty, or bribed to betray
" it; the popular ſocieties denounced and
" proſcribed; the frontiers diſmantled or
" left defenceleſs; the armies incomplete,
" or diſperſed here and there to weaken it.
" Need I mention the perpetual choice of
" Miniſters openly faithleſs to the people
" and by principle Counter-revolutioniſts?
" the rejection of others who were con-
" feſſedly patriots? the countenance and aid
" afforded to refractory prieſts? And is that
" undeviating

" undeviating rule of *Veto* forgotten, ſo
" uniformly put in practice againſt all mea-
" ſures of public ſafety, all decrees which
" were calculated to pull down fanaticiſm
" and regulate the defence of the country?
" Is the treaty of Pilnitz forgotten, &c.?
" Such is the aſſemblage of unvaried facts *,
" which in themſelves make out a flagrant
" violation of the National ſafety. Where
" are the culprits? Are we to look for them
" among fugitive Generals? or among fee-
" ble prieſts, thoſe fanatic agents of a blind
" Court? Are they to be found among thoſe
" haughty Emigrants who have fondly
" hoped to recover their penſions, their ti-
" tles, and their other toys? No, no, the
" Counter-revolution was conceived by
" Kings, and is carried on in behalf of
" Kings. The great object of ſo many
" ſecret labours was the reſtoration of the
" antient order of things. The empire of
" tyranny was the only power which theſe
" coalitions of clergy, military, and nobi-
" lity ſought to triumph in: he, therefore,

* They were almoſt all falſe, or exaggerated, or inſignificant, or abſolutely unknown to the King.

" whoſe

" whoſe intereſt was moſt at ſtake in all " theſe manœuvres, ought to be eſteemed " the ſole author of them *."

The ſpeaker, moſt probably fearing that the diſtinction betwixt thoſe crimes which were committed before, and thoſe after the acceptance of the Conſtitution, might embarraſs ſome one or other of his colleagues, endeavoured to remove this difficulty alſo. " In this caſe," ſaid he, " all the facts " relating to conſpiracy, in any degree, are " cloſely connected. It is indeed the ſame " plan of procedure which gave riſe " to the creation of the army of 1789, to " the intended flight to Metz on the 4th " of October in the ſame year, to that " which did take place as far as Varennes, " *to the buſineſs of the 20th of laſt June,* " *concerted for the purpoſe of attaching* " *perſons to the cauſe of the King, who* " *affected to call him a Conſtitutional* " *Monarch;* to that likewiſe which oc- " curred on the 10th of Auguſt, and which

* If in the Courts of that ancient ſyſtem, ſo much exclaimed againſt, a Judge had allowed himſelf to make uſe of ſuch arguments in a criminal cauſe againſt an accuſed perſon, of whatſoever degree, he would have been turned out as a prevaricator or an aſſaſſin.

" was

" was to have aboliſhed the Conſtitution, " through the means of the mock defenders " and friends of its laws*."

Previous to the deliberate avowal expreſsly made from the Tribune by the authors of the conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt, the uninformed and credulous multitude might have ſuffered themſelves to have been perſuaded, through impoſture and calumny, *that the events of that day aroſe from a plot entered into by the Court againſt the people, that the Palace guard began the attack, and that the people themſelves only acted in the defenſive*; there was certainly a battle between the people and the Palace guard, and thoſe who were not eye-witneſſes of it, or who were not in the ſecret of the ſeveral ſtratagems afloat, might have been eaſily deceived with regard to which party ſtruck the firſt blow†; but on the 20th of June, there was not the leaſt ap-

* *Barrere*'s ſpeech, page 75, and following.

† The guard was accuſed for no other purpoſe than to add more colour to the accuſation, which charged the King with having given the word to fire upon the people, and by that means to obtain ſome plauſible pretext for decreeing his ſuſpenſion and impriſonment in the Temple.

pearance

pearance of a combat; thirty thouſand armed brigands broke into the Palace of the Thuilleries, and made their way without the ſmalleſt reſiſtance to the apartments of the King, the doors of which they forced with axes, and for four hours together his Majeſty and the Royal Family were expoſed to their inſults and ignominious outrage. The agents of the Jacobin Club, who were the inſtigators of this inſurrection, were certainly not ſuſpected of keeping up any underſtanding with the Court. Whence *Marat*, who was the moſt furious, the moſt bloody-minded of all the demagogues, was very careful how he charged the King with the deeds of that day; he would have been apprehenſive of paſſing for the maddeſt, the moſt ſtupid, or the moſt impudent villain of all thoſe employed in the Revolution. What then muſt be thought of *Barrere*, who, neither mad nor ſtupid, could venture to make ſo groſs an impoſition one of his charges againſt his Majeſty, and this not through the medium of a journal or pamphlet, but expreſſed as his opinion in his judicial capacity upon the King's trial. He had the face to include the events of the 20th of June in his recapitulation of the

proofs of the conſpiracy which he pretended *Louis* XVI. had been guilty of againſt the ſafety of the State at home and abroad, and even brought them forward as one reaſon, amongſt others, which determined him to vote for his death; *a vote*, ſaid he, *founded upon the uncontrovertible principles of the law of nations, and the firmneſs of my conſcience.* Juſt Heaven! what a conſcience, and what principles of the law of nations muſt thoſe be, which ſtamp aſſaſſination and regicide with legal authority, which ſanction the ſentence of death againſt any innocent perſon, by imputing to him imaginary crimes! In what barbarous code, in what country abandoned by Providence had *Barrere* diſcovered this terrible law of nations? I am aware that it was profeſſed among the clubs; but in the Revolutionary code of Jacobiniſm alone had it ever had exiſtence.

In this law of blood likewiſe did *Barrere* find an anſwer for all the objections which had been made by thoſe who ſpoke before him upon the ſubject. "Some there are," ſaid he, "who have ſet their faces againſt "the want of forms in this weighty matter; "but it muſt never be forgotten, that *Louis* "*Capet*

" *Capet*, from the peculiar character of his " functions, and from the nature of his " crime, is a kind of neceſſary exception " in the general forms of trials. Are not " his guard and his priſon different from " the guard and priſon of other accuſed ci- " tizens? Do not let us confound a regular " meaſure with judiciary forms; beſides, " that which we are going to conclude upon, " is neither a trial nor a law: it is a mo- " mentous proviſion for the general ſecu- " rity—it is an act of public ſafety—it is a " Revolutionary procedure, like that of " the baniſhment of the prieſts. The ſe- " curity of a riſing Republic requires the " puniſhment of the tyrant and the con- " ſpirator. The expulſion of the *Tarquins* " was but a meaſure of general ſafety, and " the Republic of Rome was founded. " *No longer then let us affect to reaſon* " *from the principles of laws and trials.*"

What wretched ſophiſtry! What truly! becauſe they had choſen to ſhut up *Louis* XVI. in a priſon different from thoſe in which other accuſed perſons were confined, and becauſe they had ſet over him a more numerous guard, did ſuch acts of the moſt guilty violence enable them to diſpenſe with

the obſervation of judiciary forms in the conduct of his trial? Did their having arbitrarily and tyrannically decreed, without any previous trial, the baniſhment of the prieſts, give them a right *regularly* to condemn the King without trying him, and as a meaſure of general ſafety? According to what rule could this ſtep, ſo impudently ſtiled *regular*, be juſtified? *The riſing Republic required the puniſhment of the tyrant and the conſpirator:* but the proof of pretended facts reſulting from tyranny and conſpiracy having become the ſubject of a criminal trial, whatever Court had the cognizance of them, nothing can be determined upon them but by trial; and this trial cannot be legal, otherwiſe than as the whole cauſe is taken up, prepared, and tried conformably to the laws and every judiciary form. The expulſion of *Tarquin* might have been conſidered and decreed by the Senate of Rome as a meaſure of general ſafety; but this meaſure was not accompanied with any pretence of legal procedure. *Tarquin* was not impriſoned, had no decree of impeachment paſſed againſt him, was not interrogated at the Bar of the Senate, &c. becauſe they were deſirous of

driving him from the Throne, and not of bringing him to trial: but had he been arraigned as *Louis* XVI. was, and had he been as completely and as ſolemnly vindicated, the Senate would have had no power of baniſhing him, without having tried him; nor could they, on the ſame ground, have paſſed an unjuſt ſentence upon him. So monſtrous, ſo foul a deed as this was reſerved for the Repreſentatives of a Republic brought forth in a deluge of blood, eſtabliſhed and organized by aſſaſſins.

Some Deputies having expreſſed their ſcruples with regard to the ſufficiency of thoſe powers which the Convention poſſeſſed, to ſuffer them to conſtitute themſelves the Judges of the King to decide upon his inviolability, *Barrere* took notice of this queſtion in his ſpeech, and found an anſwer for it in the unlimited inſtructions which all the Members of the Aſſembly had received from their Conſtituents. "The nation aſſembled in September laſt," ſaid he, "very well underſtood, that according "to the Conſtitution the King's perſon was "inviolable; the nation knew as well that "his perſon was ſuſpended by the Legiſla"tive Aſſembly, and that he was accuſed

" and confined in the Temple; and were " not theſe public and recent circumſtances " ſufficient authority for us to decide " upon this aſſumed inviolability?" Firſt, let me obſerve that the King's having been accuſed at the time of the elections was an utter falſehood. He was, indeed, ſcandalized and denounced in the Revolutionary Journals, in Jacobinical pamphlets, and in vehement harangues of the maddeſt part of the Legiſlative Body; but all this did not conſtitute a formal and legal impeachment, on which any ſentence could be pronounced. The nation knew indeed that *Louis* XVI. was ſuſpended from his power, and was confined in the Temple; but it alſo knew that the Conſtitution, which it had accepted, and which the generality of the citizens had ſworn to ſupport with their lives, was not revoked, and that it could not be ſo without their conſent, and without reviving the old one, or without replacing it by another as univerſally accepted. The nation alſo knew that this Conſtitution declared the perſon of the King ſacred and inviolable, and that the preſumed abdication of Royalty was the only puniſhment pronounced by the Conſtitutional Act for all the

the delinquencies which the King might be guilty of againſt the ſecurity of the State. That nation therefore muſt have conceived that the moſt extenſive uſe which its Repreſentatives could, at all events, make of the unlimited powers with which it had inveſted them, was confined within thoſe Conſtitutional bounds, which by its own oaths it was itſelf forbidden to go beyond *. Could the nation then foreſee that its faithleſs Repreſentatives, reviving thoſe abſurd objections relative to the inviolability of the King, which the Conſtituent Aſſembly had rejected with indignation, would ſtill dare to maintain, *that it was neither abſolute nor indefinite, but only relative; that it could not be appealed to by the Monarch but in acts for which the Miniſters or other agents of the Executive Power were reſponſible; and that it turned aſide the inexorable ſcythe of political and legal equality, which levelled indiſcriminately every pre-eminence*†. Could

* According to the terms of the Conſtitution, the authority of the Aſſembly, if ſtretched to the utmoſt, went no farther than to declare whether the King was to be conſidered as having abdicated Royalty.

† *Barrere*'s ſpeech, page 86.

any one have expected that upon the ſtrength of theſe and like ſophiſms the Aſſembly, regarding the King as a common citizen, would arraign him, would paſs a decree of impeachment againſt him, as one who had been guilty of deſigns againſt the ſafety of the State, both at home and abroad; and that after having conſtituted themſelves the Judges of *Louis* XVI. in ſpite of the formal ordinances of the Conſtitution*, they would ſuppoſe themſelves

* The Judiciary power in no caſe can be exerciſed by the Legiſlative Body, nor by the King. (Conſtitutional Act, Chap. V. Art. I.)

The Conſtitution delegates to the Legiſlative Body the powers and functions following, &c.—" 10th, To call to an account before the National Supreme Court the reſponſibility of Miniſters, and of the principal agents of the Executive Power. *To accuſe and proſecute before the ſame Court all thoſe who ſhall be arraigned of having executed, or planned any evil deſign againſt the general ſecurity of the State, or againſt the Conſtitution.* (Chap. III. Sect. I. Art. X.)

The Conſtitution not having determined whether the Legiſlative Body or the National Supreme Court ſhould decide upon the preſumed abdication of the King, the Convention had the power to claim this function to themſelves, and then that function conſiſted only in to declaring that the King was judged to have abdicated; but

ſelves authorized to condemn him to death, in the ſame manner as they would adopt a meaſure of general ſafety; that is, without proof, without obſerving any judiciary form; without even reporting the proceedings, and of courſe without trial! No, it was impoſſible that the French nation ſhould be guilty of aſſaſſinating its King; neither did it give any more power to its Repreſentatives to try him, than it did to condemn him without trial as a meaſure of general ſafety. Sinking like himſelf under the monſtrous oppreſſion of thoſe infamous uſurpers of all the National Authorities, influenced by the terror of their daggers, nothing had been left for it but to lament in ſilence the frightful abuſe which had been made of its name and powers; but it has always looked with abhorrence upon, and always muſt continue to abhor, thoſe wretches who voted for the death of *Louis* XVI. Time may lead it to forget the names of thoſe cowards whom

but by diſcarding altogether the idea of inviolability, and the diſtinction between crimes committed before and after the abdication, *Louis* XVI. ought to have been tried as a common citizen, and ſent to the National Supreme Court as being accuſed of attempts ſubverſive of the ſafety of the State.

threats

threats and the fear of being themſelves aſſaſſinated induced to join in the regicide; but no lapſe of time can ever wear away its too juſt reſentments againſt ſuch as employed the moſt iniquitous manœuvres, every direct and indirect means in their power, to enſure the ſucceſs of their abominable enterpriſe; and if, in that liſt of ignominy and execration, the name of *Barrere* ſhould be found inſerted with thoſe of *Marat* and the aſſaſſins of the Section of the Luxembourg, he has none to blame but himſelf. The following are his own words, which he made uſe of in the ſame ſpeech *, after having oppoſed the motion for the appeal to the people, which had a conſiderable majority in the Aſſembly, when *Barrere* began to ſpeak. "If any thing," ſaid he, "could "induce me to change my opinion, it is "to behold the ſame ſentiments adopted by "a man whoſe name I cannot prevail upon "myſelf to pronounce, but who is univer- "ſally known for his ſanguinary principles, "(*Marat*)—it is, I ſay, to perceive my "opinions aſſimilating with that of certain "Sections of Paris; and, amongſt the reſt,

* *Barrere's* ſpeech, page 67.

"of

" of that Section of the Luxembourg, " whoſe reſolution, ſo pregnant with diſo- " bedience to the laws, and ſo widely treſ- " paſſing upon the freedom of public ſen- " timent, ought to have been puniſhed." It muſt be recollected that the reſolution and the oath of this Section, which I have already mentioned, were *to ſtab* LOUIS XVI. *if the Convention did not condemn him to die.* *Marat* had for a long time profeſſed the ſame deſign, and ſuch were the ſentiments to which *Barrere* acknowledges his own approximated. To enable them to prevail, every engine which diſhoneſty and the moſt heinous cunning could deviſe he ſet at work. Had he to controvert the objections of thoſe of his colleagues, who without having any knowledge of the laws of judiciary forms, ſhrunk from the idea of condemning the King to death without any trial, and as a mere precaution of national ſecurity, he recapitulated and multiplied without end the pretended crimes of the King, and demonſtrated in his way, that is, by falſehood and ſophiſtry, that their proofs were irreſiſtibly eſtabliſhed, that all eſſential forms had been complied with, that the whole trial was perfectly in order, and that nothing

thing but to paſs judgment remained. Did he find himſelf called upon to refute the arguments of thoſe who, better lawyers or honeſter men than himſelf, exclaimed againſt the invalidity of thoſe proofs, or the diſregard of forms, his anſwer was, *that there was no neceſſity to argue upon the principles of the laws or of trials, for in fact all that was to be done was to decree a meaſure of general ſafety.*

Theſe falſe poſitions, theſe contradictory reaſonings, laid down with emphaſis, and in the haughtieſt ſtyle of a demagogue, were powerfully backed by the clappings and the clamours of the galleries; but the fatal influence which his opinion had in the ſentence of the King, is to be aſcribed to the terror which the menaces of the agents of the regicide faction inſpired *, rather than to

* *We are conſtantly ſurrounded with ſcoundrels,* ſaid *Buzot in the Sitting of the 11th of January; they inſult and threaten the Members of the Convention at the very doors of this Sanctuary. Inſtigations to commit murder are continually aſſailing our ears, and I call all my colleagues to atteſt the truth of what I aſſert.* More than 200 Deputies roſe at once, exclaiming, *Yes, yes, it is true.* Theſe ſame facts are more at length detailed and ſubſtantiated in the harangue of a deputation of the Federates, delivered at the Bar of the Aſſembly the 13th of January.

the

the eloquence or the logic of *Barrere*. It is a fact that *Robeſpierre*, after having heard his ſpeech, turned to *St. Juſt*, and ſaid, *That is the very man we want* *.

In the extract which I have thought it neceſſary to make from *Barrere*'s ſpeech, for the other Deputies of the regicide party only repeated, in other words, all that he ſaid, I have paſſed over in ſilence all thoſe long and vehemently declamatory parts relative to the propoſition of ſubmitting the ſentence of the King to the ratification of the people. It appeared to me ſufficient to demonſtrate, 1ſt, that the Convention did not poſſeſs the power to determine upon the fate of *Louis* XVI. 2dly, That had they even been authoriſed to try him, they could never have condemned him, becauſe not one of the crimes of which he was accuſed had been proved. 3dly, That *Louis* was not only condemned without proofs, and by incompetent Judges, but that not a ſingle judiciary form had been obſerved throughout the whole procedure of the trial, which was carried on without having been ſo much as once reported.

* See the note at the end of the volume.

Having

Having fulfilled this taſk, I proceed to relate the manœuvres which the regicides, confident of carrying the motion for paſſing ſentence of death, had recourſe to, in order to obviate all obſtacles that might prevent, or at leaſt delay for ſome time, its execution. What gave them the moſt uneaſineſs was, the appeal to the people. The majority of the Deputies who had voted had already adopted that idea, and of this number were the principal Members of the Gironde party, *Vergniaux*, *Guadet*, *Genſonné*, and *Briſſot*. After having tried in vain to bring theſe over to their own ſide of the queſtion, or to frighten them into compliance by the uſual means, they openly attacked them in the Aſſembly by a denunciation, which accuſed them of having, about the middle of the month of July laſt, and through the mediation of the painter *Boſe*, and of *Thyerry*, valet-de-chambre to the King, entered into a ſecret correſpondence with his Majeſty, tending to impede the progreſs of the Revolution. This denunciation occaſioned much tumultuous agitation in the Aſſembly.

This correſpondence, the purport of which I have explained in the preceding chap-

chapters*, was not diſavowed by the accuſed. Confident that their letter, which had been ſent back by the King, could not be produced againſt them, they maintained that, at the time of this correſpondence, the country being in the greateſt danger, they had employed themſelves on deviſing means to ſave it, which they offered to the King, and had adviſed him to attend to them, in a letter which *Boſe* had preſſed them to write.

Boſe, being ſummoned to the Bar, confirmed this declaration in his examination, and added, that the means which had been propoſed by the letter in queſtion were to prevail on the Powers to withdraw their armies from the frontier, to recall the patriot Miniſters, and to give his ſanction to certain decrees; in corroboration of this aſſertion, he produced the anſwer which he received from the King's *valet-de-chambre*. It was as follows:—

" I have a ſecond time been blamed for " having received the letter which, prompted " by my zeal, I had reſolved upon deliver-

* Theſe Deputies requeſted the King to recall *Servan*, *Clavière*, and *Roland* to the Miniſtry.

" ing:

" ing: nevertheleſs, the King has permitted " me to ſend you for anſwer, 1ſt, That he " was not ſo heedleſs as to neglect the dili- " gence of the Miniſter; 2dly, That the " declaration of war was entirely owing to " thoſe who called themſelves patriot Mi- " niſters; 3dly, That he had put every " thing in train to engage the hoſtile armies " to retire; that there actually remained " nothing more to be done than to take the " uſual ſteps for that purpoſe; and, finally, " that ſince his acceptance of the Conſtitu- " tion, he had himſelf carefully maintained " its laws; but that, at this very time, " there are many perſons who are as aſſi- " duous on the contrary to break through " them."

(Signed.) "THYERRY."

The Girondiſts made much uſe of the opportunity, which the contents of this letter gave them to vindicate the purity of their civiſm. They called to mind that, on the 10th of Auguſt, they were the firſt to propoſe the depoſition of the King; that they brought forward and digeſted the decree which was paſſed for that purpoſe, &c. Their antagoniſts, *Marat*, *Thuriot*, *Tallien*,

lien, &c. anſwered them with clamours, threats, and the groſſeſt inſults. Theſe indecent debates, which took up almoſt all the Sitting, and prolonged it to ſeven o'clock in the evening, terminated at laſt in favour of the Girondiſts, the Aſſembly paſſing to the order of the day upon the denunciation which had been made againſt them.

The number of ſpeakers who requeſted to be heard upon the trial of the King was ſo conſiderable, that if they had all ſpoken, the diſcuſſion would have laſted more than three months. But the eager and ſanguinary thirſt for the death of *Louis* XVI. with which the regicides panted would not permit them to defer his aſſaſſination ſo long; they ſaw no other mode to ſhorten this delay than by cloſing the debate. This meaſure appeared to them the more advantageous, becauſe, by its being adopted, *Barrere*'s ſpeech would be ſecured from all refutation, a ſpeech which, according to their ideas, had omitted nothing that could be ſaid upon the ſubject; it was therefore important that the impreſſion which it had made upon the Aſſembly ſhould not be weakened. But the ferment in which the public mind continued at this juncture

induced the factious to ſuſpend all definitive reſolves until the Municipality ſhould have given in, agreeably to the orders of the Aſſembly, an account of the cauſes of the agitation which reigned in the Capital, and of the diſpoſition of the Pariſians, alſo what was the public opinion, what the ſpirit and the number of the National Guards, and other troops of which the armed force in Paris conſiſted. The Municipality delivered this account on the 5th of January. "One of the moſt active cauſes "of this ferment," ſaid the Mayor, "is "the trial of *Louis Capet*, the termina-"tion of which many perſons look for-"ward to with anxiety. It is ſaid that "*Louis Capet* ſhould periſh. Still, how-"ever, a great number of citizens declare, "that they will readily ſubmit to whatever "ſentence ſhall be pronounced againſt his "crimes. It is not eaſy to determine what "will be the iſſue of this ferment, which "many other cauſes ſerve to keep up." He mentioned, among the moſt various, the alarms occaſioned by the ſcarcity of the neceſſaries of life, the diſcredit and the loſs which the notes of the *Maiſon de Secours* had ſuſtained ſince its unfortunate failure, the

immenſe number of workmen out of employ, the continual murmurs every where heard againſt the Miniſter of the Interior, whoſe removal was demanded, &c. As to the public force, it was very accurately made out, by the ſtatements which the Miniſter at War and General *Santerre* had given in, that the armed force of Paris conſiſted of 121,179 men; viz.

National Guard - -	110,542
Gendarmerie, and the Conquerors of the Baſtille -	2,433
Federates - - -	5,601
Cavalry - - - -	2,603

With this immenſe army, the proper diſpoſal of which the Generals took care of, the regicide faction, ſeeing no further danger likely to attend the immediate developement of the purport of all their ſtratagems, decreed, in the Sitting of the 7th of January, that the diſcuſſion of the ſeveral queſtions relating to the trial of the King was cloſed, that all ſpeeches ſhould be printed, and that the final determination upon the whole buſineſs was adjourned to the 14th.

In the ſame Sitting a letter was read from *Dumourier*, who had arrived at Paris with leave, and had laid before the Aſſembly long accounts, complaining of the decline of his health, which he attributed to the repeated mortifications he had experienced in conſequence of the diſorganiſed ſtate of the armies, and their great want of clothing, arms, horſes, and ſubſiſtence, which they had ſuffered ever ſince the management of the ſupplies had been taken from him, and the contracts which he had made had been broken through. He complained of the Miniſter at War and his office, which, ſaid he, is become a club in which all the clerks, inſtead of expediting the buſineſs of the Department, employ their time in making or preparing motions. He referred to the numerous and brilliant ſucceſſes which he had obtained whilſt he was ſeconded by the confidence of the Aſſembly; he repeated the oath he had taken to retire from all employ as ſoon as the Republic ſhould be freed from the ſcourge of war, and ſhould not this precaution be deemed ſufficient to check the ambition which he had been accuſed of, he made a promiſe to impoſe the moſt rigorous baniſhment upon himſelf. He concluded

cluded this letter by announcing, that if, in a criſis ſo terrible as that was, the Aſſembly would not put the confidence in him which he deſerved, if they would perſiſt in taking precautions againſt him; and, laſtly, if they would not come to an immediate deciſion upon the ſubject of the four memorials which he had ſubmitted to their wiſdom, he would inſtantly withdraw himſelf from the command.

Theſe memorials, and the letter which accompanied them, were referred, without having been the leaſt diſcuſſed, to the Committee of General Defence. The extraordinary coolneſs with which the Aſſembly received the claims of their favourite General, was attributed to a report which was ſpread that he came to Paris with no other view than to deliver *Louis* XVI. The Royaliſts began to flatter themſelves that this was really his deſign; but they were not long before they diſcovered their error. If *Dumourier* had been capable of forming ſuch a project, he would not have ſuffered, whilſt in the plains of Champagne, the moſt favourable opportunity poſſible for putting it in execution to have eſcaped him.

What room then was there for ſuppoſing that, not having been willing to effect it when he could, he would have the inclination when he no longer poſſeſſed the power?

CHAP-

CHAPTER XL.

Denunciation of Garat by M. Bertrand—State Papers relative to England—Preparations for War—Commotion in Conſequence of the Repreſentation of a Play called L'Ami des Lois—Queſtions relative to the Judgment to be paſſed on the King—Lanjuinais' Speech—Uproar in the Convention—Speech of the Preſident previous to ſtating the Deciſion of the Votés—The King's Appeal from the Judgment of the Convention to the Nation—The Speeches of M. M. Deſeze, Tronchet, and Maleſherbes—Robeſpierre's Speech—Barrere's—Guadet's—Thomas Paine's—Decree of Death.

IN my Private Memoirs, I have already taken notice of certain papers having been withheld which tended to juſtify the King, and which I had encloſed in a letter to the Miniſter of Juſtice (*Garat*), requeſting that they might be delivered to his Majeſty or his advocates. In the ſame work alſo I mentioned my denunciation againſt that Miniſter, addreſſed to the Preſident of the Convention, and which I ſent to all the Deputies, to the Departments, and the principal Municipalities of the kingdom, and inſerted them in the *Courier de l'Europe**. I had reaſon to ſuppoſe that a meaſure of ſuch ſerious importance and publicity would not allow *Garat* to perſevere in his ſilence; and, in fact, he did go down to the Aſſembly, and gave his account of thoſe papers. No ſooner had he finiſhed, than one of the vileſt Members of the *Coté-gauche* exclaimed, *Bertrand is an Emigrant; he is dead in law; and a perſon thus defunct cannot be admitted in evidence. I move the order of the day.* The Miniſter in his vindication merely obſerved, that he had hitherto not thought of making any anſwer

* For a full account of the circumſtance, ſee my Private Memoirs, Vol. III. Chap. XXXIX.

to my denunciation, becauſe I had not only emigrated, but was under impeachment; that with reſpect to the papers which I had ſent to him, he did not conceive himſelf bound to deliver them to the advocates of *Louis* XVI. without the intermediate cognizance of the Convention, who had ordered them to be referred to the Commiſſion. One of the Commiſſioners proved the papers to have been tranſmitted by the Miniſter, as he had aſſerted, and called to mind that the Commiſſion had ſeveral times preſented ſimilar packets to the National Convention, who had always paſſed to the order of the day, without determining any thing with regard to what uſe they ſhould be applied to; that of courſe they had remained in the Regiſtry of the Commiſſion, and that ſome of them had not been ſo much as opened.

Such was the partiality with which, according to the confeſſion of the Convention itſelf, the King's trial was conducted. Thoſe papers and memorials which related to his vindication, and had been addreſſed to him, were withheld, and privately diſpoſed of by the Commiſſion eſtabliſhed for drawing up the charges againſt him. They gave no intimation of them either to his Majeſty

Majeſty or his advocates; and when this egregious violation of truſt was denounced againſt the Miniſter of Juſtice and the Commiſſion of the Twenty-one, before the whole National Convention, they coolly paſſed to the order of the day. This was the reception which they gave to my denunciation.

In the interval that elapſed between the decree of the 7th of January and the day on which the final reſolution upon the trial of the King was to take place, the attention of the Aſſembly was principally taken up with deliberations upon the extraordinary armaments of England, and the correſpondence between the French Miniſter at London and the Cabinet of St. James's. The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, *Le Brun*, preſented to the Convention on the 12th of January copies of Lord *Grenville's* letter to Citizen *Chauvelin*, the French Miniſter, and of the official note which the Executive Council had tranſmitted in anſwer.

His Lordſhip, in expreſs and formal terms, declared to M. *Chauvelin*, that he did not recogniſe him in any other public character than as Miniſter of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; that the propoſition of receiving a Miniſter accredited by any other

authority

authority or power in France, would be a new queſtion; and ſhould it occur, his Britannic Majeſty would have a right to decide according to the intereſts of his ſubjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owed to his allies and to the general ſyſtem of Europe. With reſpect to the explanations given by M. *Chauvelin* of the various circumſtances which had given ſuch ſtrong grounds of uneaſineſs and jealouſy to the Engliſh Government, Lord *Grenville* obſerved,

1ſt, That the interpretation which England had put upon the decree paſſed on the 19th of November *, and which it was pretended was injurious to the Convention, was beyond all doubt applicable, as it was juſtified by the conduct of the Convention themſelves by the honourable reception which they had publicly given to ſome ſeditious Engliſhmen, and by the ſpeeches which the Preſident had addreſſed to them at the time of paſſing this decree, and afterwards; that

* This decree profeſſed the French nation to be the friend and ally of every people who might be deſirous of recovering their liberty, and aſſured them of their ſuccour and ſupport.

the freſh explanations which M. *Chauvelin* had offered upon theſe points were by no means ſatisfactory.

2dly, That the promiſe made in the name of France to reſpect the independence of England and of her allies, and not to attack Holland ſo long as ſhe ſhould maintain a ſtrict neutrality, was the leſs to be confided in, as at the very time of making this declaration an officer, ſtating himſelf to be employed in the ſervice of France, was guilty of an open violation both upon the territory and neutrality of the Republic, by going up the Scheldt to attack the citadel of Antwerp; that France alſo could have no right to annul the ſtipulations of thoſe treaties which related to the Scheldt, unleſs ſhe poſſeſſed likewiſe the right of ſetting aſide in the ſame manner all other treaties between the various Powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England and her allies; that not only thoſe principles which France was eager to eſtabliſh by this proceeding, would not be admitted by England, but that, on the contrary, ſhe was and always would be ready to oppoſe them with all her force; that ſhe would never conſent that France ſhould arrogate to herſelf the power

of

of annulling at her pleaſure, and under the pretence of a natural right, of which ſhe made herſelf the only judge, the political ſyſtem of Europe, eſtabliſhed by ſolemn treaties, and guaranteed by the conſent of all the Powers; that if France were really deſirous of maintaining friendſhip and peace with England, ſhe muſt ſhow herſelf diſpoſed to renounce her views of aggrandizement, and to confine herſelf within her own territory, without inſulting other Governments, without diſturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.

3dly, That in anſwer to the ſubject of the appeal which M. *Chauvelin* propoſed to make to the Engliſh nation, that nation, according to that Conſtitution by which its liberty and its proſperity were ſecured, and which it would always be able to defend againſt every attack, direct or indirect, would never have with foreign Powers connection or correſpondence, except through the organ of its King, of a King whom it loved and revered, and who had never for an inſtant ſeparated his rights, his intereſts, and his happineſs, from the rights, the intereſts, and the happineſs of his people.

In the official note anſwering this letter, the

the Executive Council obſerved; with regard to the Diplomatic character of Citizen *Chauvelin*, that Citizen *Bourgoing*, who was exactly in the ſame ſituation at the Court of Spain, having been recogniſed by that Court without the leaſt difficuly as Miniſter Plenipotentiary from France, it was naturally concluded that the Miniſters of his Britannic Majeſty would have felt no heſitation in doing the ſame; but in order to remove all obſtacle upon this point, the Executive Council had taken the reſolution of ſending letters of credence to Citizen *Chauvelin*, which would furniſh him with the means of treating in all the ſecurity of Diplomatic forms. As to the other points which were repreſented in Lord *Grenville*'s letter as objects of difficulty, the Executive Council gave for anſwer;

1ſt, That the decree of the 19th of November could not have any application, unleſs in the ſole caſe in which the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expreſſed, ſhould call the French nation to its aſſiſtance and fraternity; that this could not be conſidered as giving encouragement to ſedition, as that which conſtituted the general will could not be conſtrued into ſedition;

dition; neither could that be deemed a ſeditious procedure, by which all the Members of a Society roſe at once either to correct their Government, to change its form altogether, or for any other object.

2dly, That the queſtion relative to the Scheldt was a matter of but little moment to England, and that it was alſo very unimportant to Holland, ſince the productions of Belgium flowed equally by the canals which terminated at Oſtend; but that it certainly was of great conſideration to the Belgians, and that on this account France had declared herſelf ready to ſupport them in the exerciſe of ſo legitimate a right: that with reſpect to the ſtipulations which are oppoſed to the freedom of the Scheldt, if the law of nature and of nations were conſulted, France, as well as all the nations of Europe, were authorized to break through them; that if public law were conſulted likewiſe, it muſt not be forgotten that it never ought to conſiſt of any thing more than the application of the principles of the general law of nations to the particular circumſtances in which nations were placed with regard to each other, inſomuch that every particular treaty which ſhould infringe upon

upon thoſe principles could only be regarded as the work of violence; her profeſſion of public faith was too good for France to fear avowing the principles of it; that the Republic had no intention of creating herſelf the univerſal judge of all thoſe treaties which mutually bind nations; that ſhe as well knew how to reſpect other Governments, as ſhe would take care to render her own reſpected; that ſhe was neither deſirous of impoſing laws upon any one, nor would ſuffer any one to impoſe laws upon her; that ſhe had renounced, and did again renounce, all views of conqueſt; that the occupation of the Low Countries ſhould continue during the war only, and ſo long as it ſhould be neceſſary to the Belgians, in order to ſecure and conſolidate their liberty; that then if England and Holland ſhould ſtill attach any importance to the opening of the Scheldt, and the Belgians, from whatever motive, ſhould conſent to deprive themſelves of its navigation, France would not oppoſe any obſtacle, and would know how to reſpect their independence even in their errors.

3dly, That after ſo frank a declaration, manifeſting ſo ſincere a deſire for peace, his Britannic

Britannic Majeſty's Miniſters ought not to have a ſhadow of a doubt with reſpect to the intentions of France; but if ſhe was ſtill conſtrained to liſten to haughty language, and if hoſtile preparations continued in the Engliſh ports, France, after having laboured to no purpoſe to procure peace, would prepare herſelf for war with at leaſt a ſenſe of the juſtice of her cauſe, and of her efforts to avoid ſuch an extremity.

Briſſot, ſpeaking in the name of the United Marine and Diplomatic Committees, drew a long compariſon between theſe two papers, throwing out the moſt injurious and calumniating invectives againſt the Cabinet of St. James's, and ſpeaking of the Oppoſition and people of England in the moſt fulſome ſtrain of the meaneſt flattery, at the ſame time extolling, in the moſt ridiculous ſtyle of exaggeration, our maritime ſtrength, and expatiating with as much hyperbolical extravagance upon the pretended diſtreſs of England, which, ſaid he, deſtitute of all means whatſoever to ſupport a freſh war againſt France with any advantage, had no idea of declaring it, and therefore ſtrove to intimidate by threats only. He concluded by moving that the Executive Council ſhould

be ordered, 1ſt, to declare to the Engliſh Government that it was the wiſh of the French Republic to continue in friendſhip and fraternity with the Engliſh nation, to reſpect their independence and that of their allies, ſo long as England or her allies ſhould make no attack upon her: 2dly, to demand, that in purſuance of the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Commerce in 1786, all French citizens travelling or reſiding in England ſhould no longer be ſubject to the humiliating forms preſcribed by an Act of Parliament paſſed in the month of December laſt, and ſhould travel and ſojourn in England undiſturbed in the ſame manner as Engliſhmen are permitted to do in France: 3dly, to demand, that conformably to the treaty of 1786 the French ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges as other foreigners, and be allowed freely to export grain and other proviſions from Great Britain and Ireland: 4thly, to demand alſo of the Engliſh Government what was the object of the armaments which had been recently fitted out, and whether they were deſigned againſt France or not; and in caſe that ſatisfactory anſwers upon theſe points ſhould be refuſed, that ſuch meaſures as the intereſt and ſecurity of the

the Republic might require ſhould be directly purſued *.

Immediately after this report, a Member of the Committee of Marine preſented a plan of a decree relative to preparations for war; this the Aſſembly adopted, and in purſuance of it the Miniſter of Marine was required to give immediate orders for the equipment of fifty-two ſhips of the line, and fifty-two frigates. He was alſo inſtructed to cauſe to be put on the ſtocks, without loſs of time, twenty-five ſhips of the line, five of 100 guns, ſix of 80, and fourteen of 74; twenty frigates, of which eight were to carry 40 twenty-four pounders, and twelve, 36 eighteens; twenty corvettes or advice boats, and ſix bomb veſſels. This decree likewiſe ordained that the Executive Council ſhould

* The diſcuſſion of this propoſed decree was adjourned to the 22d of January; but the ſentence of the King, and his execution, having determined the King of England to ſend back M. *Chauvelin*, the Convention did not heſitate to decree that the French Republic was at war with the King of England, and with the Stadtholder of the United Provinces. (Decree of the 1ſt of February 1793.)

proceed to take the readieſt means for arming the coaſts, to ſtation a hundred battalions in the Maritime Departments, and to give orders to the National founderies to caſt 2700 great guns, and 400 carronades, &c.

Would any one believe it poſſible, that amid circumſtances of ſuch ſerious import, when the Convention were engaged in debates upon the trial of the King, and a declaration of war againſt all the Powers of Europe, a wretched new play, called *the Ami des Lois*, ſhould entirely abſorb the public attention and concern, exciting the greateſt ferment throughout the Capital! Many Sections, alarmed at the violent clapping with which a few Anti-Jacobinical alluſions and hints, that made up the only good parts of this piece, were received, denounced them to the Municipality as tending to ſuggeſt, and render popular, ideas of proſcription againſt citizens who were deſerving of much praiſe for their patriotiſm. The Council-General of the Commune and the Municipal Body being informed that a gratuitous repreſentation of this play had been given out, ordered that it ſhould be ſuſpended, and gave it in charge to the police to have an eye over the

theatres, and prevent them from bringing forward any piece that might diſturb the public tranquillity.

This order, which was made public, and poſted up on the 11th of January, did not hinder an immenſe concourſe of people from aſſembling the next day in the afternoon at the doors of the ſaloon to receive tickets. The players directly went to inform the Municipality of it, and to conſult with them upon what line of conduct they ſhould obſerve. The Mayor told them that he would himſelf go to the *Theatre Francois*, and would take care that the orders of the Council-General ſhould have attention paid to them. He went, but no ſooner had he announced what he came about, than the crowd, which completely ſurrounded him, expreſſed their diſcontent with loud outcries againſt him; and when he made an attempt to withdraw, they would not ſuffer him to ſtir. They informed him that a deputation had been ſent to the National Convention, to obtain permiſſion for the *Ami des Lois* to be acted; and they preſſed him ſo importunately, or rather ſo very roughly, to write himſelf to the Preſident, in order to ſecond their requeſts, that he was obliged to con-

ſent. The Aſſembly having learned what conflict for power had taken place between the ſovereign people and the Conſtituted Authorities, without any ſcruple ſettled the difficulty at once by paſſing to the order of the day, aſſigning for their reaſon that there did not exiſt any law which authoriſed the Municipalities to paſs any cenſure upon theatrical repreſentations. This decree was received with great tranſport by the populace, and the piece commenced. The Council-General of the Commune, who were aſſembled for the purpoſe of awaiting the iſſue of this diſpute, having learned that in ſpite of their *arrêté* the *Ami des Lois* was acted, and that the Mayor was forced to attend it, wrote to him directly to demand an account of all that paſſed, requeſting him to ſend back an immediate anſwer. He returned a faithful detail of all that had taken place, and as ſoon as the play was over, he repaired to the Council in conformity to the ſummons he had received, and made it appear that the decree of the Convention had conſtrained him to withdraw his oppoſition to the repreſentation of the *Ami des Lois*; but he was notwithſtanding generally blamed

for the want of firmneſs which his conduct betrayed in this inſtance, and the Council reſolved that his behaviour ſhould undergo a reprimand, and that an addreſs to the 48 Sections ſhould be drawn up, expreſſive of the reaſons for this meaſure of diſapprobation. Another *arrêté* was alſo iſſued, enacting that all the houſes in the ſtreets ſhould be lighted up for the two following nights, to prevent thoſe nightly diſturbances and riotous violations of the public peace, which there was cauſe to apprehend might be the conſequence of the popular commotion.

This contemptible diſpute did not end here. The Council of the Commune came to a new reſolution, ordering all places of public entertainment to be ſhut on the 14th of January, the day on which the final deliberation upon the trial of the King was to be entered upon. This reſolution renewed the agitation and murmurs which the decree of the Convention had calmed, and was denounced on the ſame day in the Aſſembly at the opening of the Sitting. After a long diſcuſſion upon the imprudence of exciting at ſo critical a juncture any in-

teſtine tumult, ſo foreign to the momentous queſtions, upon the determination of which ſo much depended, it was obſerved that the Executive Council having been expreſſly inveſted, by a decree paſſed for that purpoſe, with the execution of every meaſure for the preſervation of general ſafety, it was neceſſary for them to regulate their zeal and vigilance according to what was therein ordained. The Miniſters were no ſooner made acquainted with this deciſion, than they ordered that the places of amuſement ſhould continue open, and ſent this order to the Municipality and the Commanding Officer of the National Guard with another, enjoining them to attend to its execution. They likewiſe gave directions to the managers of the different theatres to avoid acting any ſuch plays as had recently occaſioned ſo much commotion, or any that might renew them at the preſent moment. The Municipality, under the neceſſity of giving up their reſolution reſpecting the ſuſpenſion of theatrical repreſentations, confirmed that which they had paſſed relative to the *Ami des Lois*, and charged the Commanding Officer of the National Guard

Guard to ſee that it ſhould be put into execution *.

The Aſſembly having thus reſtored to the Pariſians their uſual entertainments, opened the fatal deliberation that was to finiſh that execrable tragedy, which had been ſo long promiſed and announced to them by the Jacobins. One whole Sitting was taken up in concluding upon the ſeries of queſtions on which the Convention were to ground their deciſion in paſſing judgment upon the King, and in ſettling the order in which theſe queſtions were to be determined. After a violent debate, which laſted till ten o'clock in the evening, the

* *Santerre* went to the *Theatre François* at the head of a formidable force on the 15th of January, the day on which the ſixth repreſentation of the *Ami des Lois* was to take place. The ſpectators having a long time demanded in vain that the play which had been given out ſhould begin, at length reſolved to hinder any other from being acted, and paſſed the whole time which the piece would have taken up in dancing and ſinging the *Carmagnole* in the ſaloon. Such was the levity, the heedleſſneſs, the ſtupid frivolity which the Pariſians diſplayed in the very moment when the Convention were trying their King, and declaring him guilty of treaſon againſt the nation, and attempts to overthrow the general ſafety of the State.

number

number of queſtions was reduced to three. The following are the terms and manner in which they were arranged:

1ſt. Is *Louis* guilty?

2dly. Shall the judgment to be paſſed be ſubmitted to the people for their ſanction?

3dly. What ſhall be the puniſhment?

This arrangement in the deciſion of the queſtions was evidently the moſt favourable one for the views of the regicides; and they neglected nothing that might cauſe it to be adopted: they were aware that a great number of their colleagues, influenced by terror, but at the ſame time impreſſed with a repugnance to ſharing in an act of aſſaſſination, would not give their vote to declare the King guilty, unleſs they could reſerve to their conſciences, more cowardly than ſcrupulous, the wretched reſource of hoping that this judgment would not be definitive, and might be reverſed by the *appeal to the people*.

It became therefore a neceſſary part of the plan of the conſpirators, not only to keep off all determination upon the propoſition of an *appeal to the people*, till the deciſion relative to the crimes imputed to the King ſhould be made, but even to oppoſe

oppoſe that propoſition ſo faintly as to leave room to have it ſuppoſed that it might be carried: ſuch was the diſpoſition they made of their ſtrength, and the following was the reſult:

In the Sitting of the 15th of January they proceeded to call over the votes upon their firſt queſtion;

Is Louis Capet, *formerly King of the French, guilty of a conſpiracy againſt liberty, and of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the State;—Aye, or no* ?* Out of 745 Deputies of which the Convention was compoſed, only 28 were abſent by commiſſion, or on account of ſickneſs, 717 voters therefore remained; and, of the whole number, there was not a ſingle perſon who ventured openly to aſſert the innocence of the King. The engines of terror had produced ſo great an effect, that it was con-

* This firſt queſtion was much more amply ſtated than in the decree of the day before, and for this reaſon; it was very important to draw it up exactly in the ſame terms as had been made uſe of in the penal code, for ſpecifying two crimes which were puniſhable with death; this was a ſure method of making the third queſtion to depend entirely upon the judgment which ſhould be given on the firſt.

ſidered

ſidered as a very bold ſtep for thoſe eight Deputies to take, of whom part declared that they would not ſit as the Judges of *Louis* XVI., and part that they did not think they could in juſtice do it*. 683 voted poſitively in the affirmative, without any qualification whatever, and 34 with different reſtrictions and exceptions; ſome declaring that they regarded the King as guilty, but that this judgment ought to be reviſed by the people; others, that they did not vote as Judges, but as Legiſlators, as ſtateſmen, or as citizens. The Duke of *Orleans*, too much of a coward, too debaſed to take ſuch a part in this Sitting as honour, juſtice, and nature herſelf pointed out, unheſitatingly took one, which was alone wanting to complete the ignominy of his character, and which has for ever ſtamped him an object of execration to all mankind, without exception, even to the loweſt and moſt hardened villains; for in this dreadful appeal, when

* *Moriſſon*, of the Department of La Vendèe; *Henri La Riviere* and *Lomont*, of the Department of Calvados; *Baraillon* and *Lafont*, of the Department of La Creuſe; *La Lande*, of that of La Meurthe; *Valady*, of that of L'Aveiron; *Wandelaincourt*, or *Wandeliment*, of the Department of La Haute Marne.

the

the horrid ſound of *aye* burſt from his mouth, the indignation of the very regicides, his accomplices, diſplayed itſelf in murmurs, and in the moſt expreſſive geſtures*.

They then proceeded to the vote upon the ſecond queſtion, put in theſe words:

Shall the judgment to be paſſed on Louis *be ſubmitted to the people met in Primary Aſſemblies for their ratification;—Aye, or no.*

Ten Deputies refuſed to vote at all, 283 voted for, and 424 againſt this reference for ratification. The decree was made out according to the opinion of the majority, and the laſt queſtion was adjourned to the next day.

Nothing further remained than to deter-

* "Citizens!" exclaimed *Manuel* in this Sitting, "I regard you all as Legiſlators, I have never conſidered you in the light of Judges; for Judges are as diſpaſſionate as the law which they adminiſter; Judges are never heard to join in murmurs, to abuſe one another, to calumniate one another. The Convention has no reſemblance to a Tribunal; for, if it had, aſſuredly we ſhould never have ſeen the neareſt relation of the culprit ſo devoid of conſcience, or at leaſt of ſhame, as not to have withdrawn himſelf."

mine

mine what puniſhment the King ſhould undergo. The regicides, arguing from the penal code, contended that this deciſion ought to be ſupported by the ſame number of votes as that which determined upon the pretended crimes of *Louis* XVI.; and they prevailed upon the Convention to decree that they would, without loſs of time, proceed to decide upon the fate of his Majeſty.

The firſt part of this criminal Sitting was taken up with reading and diſcuſſing the orders and reſolutions of the Municipality and the Executive Council relating to the play of the *Ami des Lois*. *Danton*, who arrived the day before from having fulfilled the commiſſion he had been charged with, entered the Aſſembly whilſt this diſcuſſion was going on. "Citizens," exclaimed he, "I ſhould have thought that far other ſub-"jects than plays ought to have engaged "our attention at this moment. (*The buſi-neſs concerns our liberty* repeated ſome Members.) "Yes," he went on, "liberty "is concerned: the buſineſs is that of the "tragedy which you muſt preſent before "nations; the concern is, to provide that "the head of a tyrant may fall beneath the "axe of the laws; 'tis not the petty con-

"cern

"cern of paltry farces." Notwithſtanding this apoſtrophe, the brutality of which excited many murmurs, the Aſſembly, before they proceeded to the vote, were deſirous of hearing the report of thoſe Miniſters, whom they had ordered to give them an account of the ſtate of Paris, and what were the diſpoſitions of the people with reſpect to the King's trial. It appeared from this report that the body of the people were quiet, that ſome movements had taken place with a view of viſiting the priſons and ſhutting the barriers; but theſe had been quickly repreſſed by the public force.

The regicide faction were perfectly at eaſe as to theſe movements, in which the Royaliſts had no concern, but which in fact were cauſed by their own agents or accomplices, they therefore bent all their efforts to obtain a deciſion *for death* in the laſt call of votes, and to this end they had recourſe, with leſs reſtraint than ever, to all thoſe various expedients and manœuvres which the moſt atrocious principles of injuſtice, and the moſt ſanguinary inveteracy could ſuggeſt. After having calculated what number of votes each deciſion would be likely to obtain, that *for death* appeared to have a majority much

much inferior to what was required by the penal code for the purpoſe of enacting a capital puniſhment: hence it muſt have followed, that if the Convention, who had erected themſelves into a Tribunal, and had choſen the penal code for their law, becauſe it pronounced ſentence of death againſt thoſe crimes which they were ſo eager to accuſe the King of, had entirely conformed to this code, *Louis* XVI. would not have periſhed. To bring him to the ſcaffold, therefore, a ſtill more horrible deviation from juſtice and humanity was neceſſary; a decree muſt be enacted before the call of votes ſhould commence, which ſhould determine that a majority of one vote would be ſufficient for paſſing ſentence of death. This decree was oppoſed by only two perſons, Deputies for Bretagne*. One of them, *Lanjuinais*, ſpoke to the following effect. "The firſt ſtep which breaks through fundamental principles leads on from violation to violation: I could adduce many inſtances of this from the ſubject before us; but be at leaſt conſiſtent in your

* *Lanjuinais*, Deputy of Rennes; and *Le Hardi*, Deputy of Morbihan.

"practice;

" practice; be not at variance with your
" own opinions. You were unwilling to
" try *Louis* XVI. agreeably to the Conſti-
" tution; it gave you no further authority
" than to reſolve upon his depoſition; you
" preferred the penal code; you are con-
" tinually appealing to it; you are con-
" tinually ſtyling yourſelves *a Jury*. Be
" it ſo; I alſo appeal to the penal code.
" The ſame forms of *Jury* do I lay claim
" to, and implore you not to frame any ex-
" ception to their general rules. You have
" thrown out all thoſe forms which juſtice
" may and humanity does require, the
" form of challenge, and the private mode
" of ballot, which can alone guarantee the
" freedom of voting. One would have
" ſuppoſed that deliberation was here car-
" ried on in a free Convention; but no
" ſuch thing; the daggers and cannon of
" the factious are conſtantly levelled againſt
" us. Condeſcend, Citizens, to reflect
" upon all theſe conſiderations; 'tis only to
" obtain the execution of the laws that I
" lay them before you; it is in behalf of
" juſtice and humanity that I move, in the
" words of the law, that three fourths of

" the votes be deemed neceſſary to eſtabliſh " the decree of ſentence of death." No anſwer but murmurs was given to this ſpeech of *Lanjuinais*. *Danton* had aſſerted, that there exiſted but one ſpecies of majority which could be admitted into the National Aſſemblies, and that which had power to make, had power alſo to apply the laws, and the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day, after having obſerved, that all their decrees without diſtinction muſt be carried by a majority; abſolutely and independently ſo conſidered. As if the trial, the ſentence, which in the name of the French nation condemned their King to die, could in any wiſe be put upon the ſame footing with an ordinary decree, and be decided by the majority of a ſingle vote!

It was eight o'clock in the evening when the call of votes commenced, and it laſted without interruption to the ſame hour in the evening of the next day. Almoſt all the Members aſſigned their reaſons for their votes, ſome more at length than others; and thus they themſelves afforded a preamble to that act of impeachment to which poſterity

will indignantly attach the character and name of each*.

Whilſt the Secretaries were employed in collecting the votes, the Preſident informed the Aſſembly that a letter had juſt been delivered to him from the King's advocates, and one from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, who announced the receipt of another from the Spaniſh Miniſter. At theſe words the cries of *to the order of the day* reſounded from every part of the Hall. *Danton* wiſhed that war were immediately declared againſt Spain, in order to puniſh that Power for having dared to pretend to influence the deliberations of the Aſſembly. *Robeſpierre* maintained, that the principles which had dictated the judgment which was about to be paſſed did not permit the advocates to be heard.

After ſome debate, the Aſſembly unani-

* Under the name of the Duke of *Orleans* will theſe words remain everlaſtingly legible—*Urged by duty ſolely I vote for death;* under that of the Abbé *Sieyes*—*Death, without more ado*; under that of *Barrere*--*All conteſt between tyrants and the people end only in death. The tree of liberty flouriſhes when nouriſhed by the blood of tyrants of every ſort*, &c.; vide the alphabetical table of the laſt call of votes, Appendix, No. XXXIX.

mouſly adopted the propoſal for paſſing to the order of the day, upon the diſpatch of the Court of Spain without hearing it read, and for admitting the King's advocates after the votes ſhould be caſt up and judgment pronounced.

At this inſtant a Deputy (*Duchatel*) who had been indiſpoſed, and had not voted in the call of votes, preſented himſelf in the Tribune with his night-cap on, and demanded to give his vote. The Members of the *Coté-gauche*, aſſured that he would not give it for ſentence of death, vehemently exclaimed againſt his demand, and contended that the call of votes was terminated. Nevertheleſs, the Aſſembly did not allow their objection, and *Duchatel*, being allowed to vote, determined for baniſhment. Immediately the outcries of the regicides redoubled, many of them at once demanded leave to ſpeak againſt *Duchatel*. *Leave, or death*, cried one of theſe cannibals with all his might. In this frightful moment, in the midſt of this uproar, in which cries of *Death* were intermixed with horrid jeſts and burſts of laughter, ſtill more horrible, which they excited, the Convention calling themſelves the Convention of the nation, bore much

much leſs reſemblance to the French people than to that horde of aſſaſſins, who, like that Convention, were ſelf-appointed, and erected themſelves into a Tribunal in the priſons of Paris, alternately decreeing and conducting the maſſacres of the 2d of September.

The Preſident having at length ſucceeded in appeaſing the tumult, ſpoke as follows: "Citizens," ſaid he, "I am going to declare "the reſult of the votes. As you are now "about to perform a great act of juſtice, I "hope that your humanity will induce you "to be profoundly ſilent. When Juſtice "has ſpoken, Humanity has a claim to be "attended to. The Aſſembly is compoſed "of 749 Members, out of which 15 are "abſent by commiſſion, 7 from ſickneſs, "1 without any reaſon aſſigned, againſt "whom a vote of cenſure is drawn up, "and 5 have not voted; in all 28. The "actual number therefore conſiſts of 721, "of which the abſolute majority is 361. "2 have voted for perpetual impriſonment; "286 for impriſonment and baniſhment "when peace ſhall be concluded upon, or "for immediate exile, or for confinement, "and to this ſome have added, condi-

" tionally, puniſhment of death in caſe of " invaſion; 46 for death, but to be delayed " till after the expulſion of the *Bourbons*, " or till the concluſion of peace, or till the " Conſtitution ſhould be ratified; 361 have " voted for death; 26 for death alſo, and " at the ſame time demanding that it ſhould " be diſcuſſed whether it were compatible " with the public intereſt to have the exe- " cution delayed or not, but independent " of this demand, their vote is for death.

" Thus the number of thoſe who have " unconditionally voted for death is 387; " thoſe who have given their vote for im- " priſonment, &c. or for death condi- " tionally, amount to 334.

" I declare therefore, in the name of the " National Convention, that the puniſhment " decreed againſt *Louis Capet* is that of " DEATH."

At that moment there reigned throughout the Aſſembly that motionleſs ſtupor, that ſad ſilence of ſhame, remorſe, and affright, which are uſually viſible among the moſt abandoned villains the inſtant after their having perpetrated ſome horrid crime! The defenders of the King appeared at the Bar, and read a paper written by himſelf, which he had charged

charged them to tranſmit to the Convention. It was conceived in the following terms:

"It is a duty which I owe to my honour "and to my family, not to ſubſcribe to a "ſentence that declares me guilty of a crime "with which I cannot accuſe myſelf; I in- "form you, therefore, that I appeal to the "nation itſelf from the ſentence of its Repre- "ſentatives, and by theſe preſents I eſpe- "cially empower my defenders, and give "it in expreſs charge to their fidelity to "make this appeal known to the Convention "by all the means in their power, and to "demand that mention be made of it in "the minutes of the preſent Sitting."

Deſeze, after having read this note, proceeded extempore:—"Citizens," ſaid he, "we implore you to take it into the conſi- "deration of your juſtice, whether there "exiſts not a manifeſt and great difference "between a voluntary reference on your "part of the ſentence of *Louis* to the peo- "ple for their ſanction, and the exerciſe "of that natural and ſacred right which "belongs to every perſon accuſed, which "is indeed the right of every individual, "yes, of every one, and therefore that of "*Louis*; if in his defence we did not our-

" ſelves ſtart theſe queſtions, the reaſon " was, becauſe it was not our part to fore- " ſee that the National Convention would " decide upon bringing him to trial, or that " if they ſhould try him, they would con- " demn him. We now propoſe this appeal " to you, in order that we may fulfil this " our laſt duty towards *Louis*. You your- " ſelves have charged us with this duty, " and we beſeech you to weigh it in your " minds with all that ſacred impartiality " which the law demands. Citizens, ſuch " was the fatal commiſſion with which " *Louis* had inveſted us. Now, having " learned that the decree which has con- " demned him to die was carried by the ma- " jority of five only*, and ſuppoſing that " we were allowed to oppoſe to theſe the " votes of thoſe who were abſent as likely " to have been given in his favour, let us " be allowed, whether as defenders of " *Louis*, as citizens, or as your petitioners, " to obſerve to you, in the name of hu- " manity, in the name of that hallowed " principle which requires that every alle-

* The votes were caſt up afreſh, becauſe there was ſome error in the firſt account, and the reſult was as it is here mentioned.

" viation,

" viation, every mitigation ſhould be in " favour of the accuſed; ſuffer us, I ſay, " to remark, that ſince ſo many and ſuch " important doubts have ariſen among the " Members of the Convention with regard " to the ratification of the ſentence by the " people, a circumſtance ſo extraordinary well " deſerves, from your profound devotion to " the intereſts of the nation, from your regard " towards them, and your reſpect for their " rights, that you ſhould of your own ac- " cord reſolve to demand this ratification, " even though you were convinced that " your principles did not compel you to it.

" Citizens, we are not ignorant, that by " a decree enacted this morning you have " adjudged the majority of a ſingle vote " ſufficient to authoriſe the ſentence which " you have paſſed; but again I here call " upon you, in the name of juſtice, in be- " half of your country, for the ſake of " humanity, make uſe of your extenſive " authority, but aſtoniſh not France with " the execution of a ſentence which muſt " appear the more terrible to her, the more " ſhe reflects upon the ſmall number of votes " by which it was carried."

" Citizens, we are now, for the laſt time,

" engaged

" engaged in an office of the moſt ſacred
" nature—an office which we received from
" you; and you are aware how great, from
" that conſideration alone, muſt be the re-
" verence in which we hold it. Suffer me,
" therefore, once more to adjure you in
" the name of *Louis* XVI. once more to
" beſeech you to reflect, that almoſt all
" thoſe Members among you who have
" voted for the ratification of your ſentence
" by the people, have, as well as the reſt
" of the Convention, founded their opinion
" upon the welfare of the Republic. Ci-
" tizens, you who contend for the ſafety of
" the nation and for its true intereſts, I
" would aſk you, will you not tremble
" when you ſhall reflect that the ſafety of
" the Republic, the ſafety of the whole Em-
" pire, the welfare of twenty-five millions
" of citizens may depend upon five votes?"

Tronchet oppoſed with much warmth the decree which had determined that the abſolute majority of a ſingle vote was ſufficient to authoriſe the ſentence of death. " It
" will appear," ſaid he, " altogether incon-
" ceivable, that the greateſt part of thoſe
" who have voted for the ſhocking puniſh-
" ment of death, have grounded their opi-

nion

" nion upon the penal code; and whatever
" the law contained of rigorous purport,
" they have applied againſt the accuſed,
" whilſt they have ſet their faces againſt
" every proviſion which the humane part
" of it has made in his favour. You are
" convinced that I ought, nay, you expect
" that I ſhould, recal to your notice that
" exact calculation by which the law de-
" mands that two thirds of the votes ſhall
" be required to condemn the accuſed: but
" I beg you to obſerve, that the decree
" which you have this morning paſſed is
" not really in itſelf a decree; that you did
" no more than paſs to the order of the day
" upon ſome very trifling obſervations
" which were made to you; and that we
" are of opinion permiſſion ought to be
" given us in conſequence of thoſe ſenti-
" ments which fill our hearts, in conſe-
" quence of the ſacred duty with which we
" are inveſted, and are bound to fulfil; we
" venture, I ſay, to conſider ourſelves as
" authoriſed to make this remark, that
" when any debate takes place reſpecting
" what ought to conſtitute the majority and
" the ſuperior ſtrength in the calculation of
" the votes, a matter of ſo much import-

" ance

" ance as that ought to be decided by a call
" of votes, and not by ſimply paſſing to
" the order of the day; and thus it is that
" in the character of citizens, of petition-
" ers, we are bold enough to call upon you,
" as has ſometimes been done when perſons
" conceived themſelves aggrieved by any
" one of your decrees, to repeal that decree
" by which you paſſed to the order of the
" day upon the ſubject of the manner in
" which judgment ſhould be paſſed upon
" *Louis.*"

M. *de Maleſherbes* ſupported the juſtice of theſe claims with all the intereſt which muſt naturally have been attached to ſuch ſupport from the ſenſibility, the grief, and the tears of this magiſtrate, who was in the eightieth year of his age, and generally and deſervedly beloved.

" Citizens," ſaid he with a tremulous and broken voice, " I am not as my col-
" leagues are, in the habit of ſpeaking *ex-*
" *tempore*; I cannot plead with the facility
" with which they do. We are ſpeaking
" without preparation upon a ſubject of the
" graveſt reflection; I cannot ſpeak extem-
" pore; I feel to my ſorrow that I have not
" had a moment to prepare myſelf, in or-
" der

" der to lay before you ſome reflections that
" might be worthy of this Aſſembly's at-
" tention. Yes, Citizens, upon this queſ-
" tion, *How ought the votes to be counted?*
" I had ſome obſervations to preſent to you,
" but I have upon ſuch a ſubject ſo many
" ideas, which are neither ſuggeſted to me
" by the individual, nor by the occaſion.
" Citizens—I pray you, pardon my confu-
" ſion—Yes, Citizens, whilſt I was in the
" magiſtracy, and ſince, I have often in-
" dulged myſelf in ſpeculations upon the
" point on which *Tronchet* has ſpoken; I
" had occaſion, whilſt I belonged to the
" body of Legiſlation, to prepare and ma-
" ture theſe ideas. And muſt I be ſo unfor-
" tunate as to have them come to nothing?
" which will be the caſe if you do not
" allow me till to-morrow to produce
" them."

M. *de Maleſherbes* was ſpeaking to tygers; he was not attended to.

Robeſpierre, already looking forward to the moment in which his reign was about to commence, roſe the firſt in the Convention after the defenders of the King had ſpoken, and combated their pretenſions in the moſt imperious and inſolent tone of paramount authority.

authority. "I pardon," ſaid he, "the re-
"flections which the defenders of *Louis*
"have allowed themſelves; I pardon their
"obſervations upon a decree which it was
"ſo neceſſary to paſs, which it is now ſo
"dangerous to attack; they have alſo my
"pardon for having propoſed the revoking
"of that preliminary decree which was
"founded upon the principles adopted by
"you for the public ſafety; they have my
"forgiveneſs even for having taken a ſtep
"which tends to ſanction an appeal made
"to the people from your ſentence; and
"finally, I forgive them for thoſe ſenti-
"ments of affection which attached them
"to him whoſe cauſe they had eſpouſed:
"but it is not incumbent upon the Legiſla-
"tors, the Repreſentatives of the people,
"to ſuffer them to enter this Hall for the
"purpoſe of giving the ſignal for ſpreading
"diſcord and commotion throughout the
"Republic. Citizens, all theſe actions
"ought to remain buried in the breaſt of
"the National Convention. It is abſolutely
"impoſſible to break through the decree
"which you have paſſed; it ought to be
"regarded as the will of the nation itſelf;
"it has been promulgated for the preſſing

"intereſt

" intereſt of the public ſafety; it is irre-
" vocable; it cannot even be made a queſ-
" tion, without offending againſt the firſt
" principles. The pretended appeal which
" has juſt been ſignified to you, ought to
" be rejected as void, as contrary to the
" principles of public authority, to the
" rights of the nation, to the authorities of
" the Repreſentatives; and every one, who-
" ſoever he may be, ought to be forbidden
" to give it any furtherance, on pain of
" being puniſhed in the ſame manner as are
" the common diſturbers of the public
" quiet, and the enemies of liberty, &c."

Robeſpierre ſpoke and declaimed with the air of a deſpot againſt the appeal to the people. *Barrere* ſupported the ſame opinions by arguments which manifeſted the moſt ſhameful ignorance of judiciary forms, or the moſt egregious diſhoneſty.

" It is very ſingular," ſaid he, " that
" after you had decreed, on the 15th of this
" month, that there ſhould be no appeal
" from your ſentence, an appeal ſhould at
" this moment be propoſed, which would
" directly overturn that decree. You muſt
" preſerve conſiſtency; your authority is
" eſtabliſhed upon the broad principles of
" public

"public law." Could *Barrere* have forgotten that the deliberation upon the trial of the King was divided into three queſtions, that the ratification by the people, met in Primary Aſſemblies, was the object of the ſecond queſtion; that it had been determined immediately after the principal queſtion had been decided, and in the ſame Sitting; that in conſequence, the deciſion of this ſecond queſtion was no leſs a component part of the trial of the King, than that which was brought forward in the following Sitting upon the third queſtion? The argument therefore which *Barrere* held up, is inconteſtibly reduced to the following propoſition: *The appeal made by the King is inadmiſſible, for it tends to reverſe the decree which it attacks.* The moſt uninformed country lawyer would not have been guilty of ſo ſtupid a concluſion; beſides it was evident, that according to the terms in which this ſecond queſtion had been put, and from the diſcuſſion which it had received, the Aſſembly had only to decide whether of its own ſpontaneous inclination it would ſubmit the King's ſentence to the ratification of the people or not. The caſe of the appeal made by his Majeſty was not provided

vided againſt, nor was a word reſpecting it uttered in all the opinions which were delivered; it had not therefore been determined; ſo that even if that arrangement of the judgment to be paſſed upon the King, which had decided upon this queſtion, had formed of itſelf a ſeparate decree, the decree being liable to attack through the medium of this appeal, or by ſimple oppoſition, ſince it would have been paſſed upon a queſtion on which the defenders of the King had not been heard, would have been equally inapplicable to the appeal made by his Majeſty.

This man muſt be diſpatched, as well as others, ſaid the murderous Judges of the 2d of September, in order to get through the emptying of the priſons. *Barrere* borrowed their logic to juſtify the decree which enacted that one more than half the number of votes was a ſufficient majority to ſubſtantiate a capital ſentence. "It would "be," ſaid he, "to derange the whole ſyſ- "tem of the Convention's labours, to urge "any neceſſity for a different kind of ma- "jority. What! have not the Emigrants "been condemned as conſpirators and as

" traitors to the country, have not thouſands " of fanatic prieſts been expelled from " France by virtue of the ſame majority, " and other laws muſt now be framed in " favour of a tyrant? No; *let us diſpatch* " *this man as well as the reſt.*"

Guadet oppoſed the appeal to the people as impracticable; but he was honeſt enough to confeſs that the idea of this reſource might have ariſen from the unhappy confuſion of powers with which at this time the National Convention had inveſted themſelves *. " I have conſtantly repeated in " this Tribune," ſaid he, " and many of " my colleagues have been of the ſame " opinion as myſelf, that I have voted as " a Member of a National Tribunal; and " I again declare, that had I voted as a " Legiſlator, moſt certainly it would not " have been *for death*; I ſhould have given " my vote for confinement: but conſider- " ing myſelf as a Member of a Tribunal, " after having declared the fact, the proof

* It is a fact, that they at one and the ſame time exerciſed the functions of accuſers, of jury, and of the magiſtrates charged with the application of the law.

" of

" of which I was thoroughly convinced
" of, I regarded nothing but the applica-
" tion of the law. As to the amount of
" votes neceſſary to form that majority on
" which judgment ſhould be paſſed, it is
" much to be regretted, that at the time
" when this decree was enacted the Conven-
" tion had not been more preciſe in its
" terms; for if they had declared, that
" previous to paſſing a decree like that
" which in theſe peculiar circumſtances it
" had juſt enacted, ſuch a majority would
" have been ſufficient; then thoſe who
" conſidered themſelves as Members of a
" Tribunal whilſt delivering their opinion
" in this Aſſembly, would have expreſſed
" themſelves otherwiſe. No equivocal ap-
" plication could have taken place, had the
" Convention declared that they were going
" to paſs judgment; for then beyond a
" doubt, citizens, you would have ſubmitted
" to the conditions of that law which inſiſts
" upon the neceſſity of having two thirds
" of the votes to carry a decree of death
" againſt the accuſed: but this queſtion ap-
" pears to me much too important for the
" Aſſembly, after ſitting ſixty hours, to
" undertake to diſcuſs it at this time; be-

" ſides, you have ſeemed to conſent that one " of the defenders of *Louis* ſhould o- " morrow preſent a petition upon this ſub- " ject. I know alſo that you have to de- " cide upon the queſtion, whether it be " expedient that the ſentence ſhould be car- " ried into execution immediately, or be " delayed. I move therefore that the Aſ- " ſembly do adjourn till to-morrow."

Merlin de Douay oppoſed this motion upon the principle that it was not proper for the Aſſembly to ſanction by adjournment the groſs error advanced by *Tronchet*, when he declared, that according to the penal code it was neceſſary to have two thirds of the votes to apply the puniſhment of the law; when in fact the law of juries, and not the penal code, diſtinguiſhing between the deciſion upon facts, and the ſentence of the application of puniſhment, had enacted that ten votes out of twelve, or twelve out of fifteen, ſhould be required for condemnation; and that three out of four, and four out of five, were neceſſary for the application of puniſhment.

Although this aukward refutation of *Tronchet*'s aſſertion offered a much ſtronger argument than all the remonſtrances of the defenders

defenders of the King did againſt the decree which had determined that the majority of one vote was ſufficient to decide the judgment, the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day upon theſe remonſtrances, rejected the appeal made by the King, and adjourned till the next day the queſtion whether the execution of the decree of death ſhould be delayed. Thus terminated on the 18th of January, at half after ten o'clock in the evening, the moſt ignominious and the moſt criminal Sitting, on all accounts, that any National Aſſembly ever held.

The following Sitting was entirely taken up in the diſcuſſion of the delay of execution, and by the call of votes which finiſhed it. This Sitting will offer to Hiſtory the moſt curious and moſt numerous proofs of the effect which the engines of terror produced in this Aſſembly: thoſe Members who voted for the delay, and who ventured to aſſign reaſons for their vote, were marked out as Royaliſts and abettors of tyranny; and all of them declared that they voted with a dagger at their breaſts *.

The

* Not only were aſſaſſins out of doors the objects of their apprehenſions, even in the Convention they were

The well-known *Thomas Paine*, who owed his deputation to the National Convention to the ſeditious extravagance of his Republican principles, voted for the King's confinement during war, and for baniſhment at the return of the peace. In this Sitting he gave his vote with much more earneſt-

ſurrounded with them. The Deputy *Manuel*, who had voted for confinement during the war, and for baniſhment at the reſtoration of peace, was aſſailed in full Aſſembly by a band of his colleagues. The impunity with which ſuch an inſult was paſſed over, determined him to give in his reſignation. (*See his Letter to the Preſident in the Minutes of the Sitting of the* 18*th of January.*)

Kerſaint, who reſigned about the ſame time, gave as a reaſon, that he felt it impoſſible for him to ſit any longer in an Aſſembly ſo tumultuous, with men of blood, as their opinions, always uſhered in with terror, had too great an influence over thoſe of men of integrity. "If the love of my country," ſaid he, "has "conſtrained me to ſubmit to the misfortune of aſſo-"ciating with the panegyriſts and promoters of the "aſſaſſinations of the 2d of September, I will at leaſt "preſerve my memory from the reproach of having "been their accomplice." (*See his Letter to the Preſident, in the Minutes of the Sitting of the* 20*th of January.*) This letter brought forward again the motion that had been made the day before relative to the maſſacres of the

earneſtneſs than any one of his colleagues in favour of delay. "I very ſincerely regret," ſaid he, "the part which was yeſterday "adopted by the Convention with regard "to the puniſhment by death; I have the "advantage of ſome experience in ſubjects "of this nature: it is almoſt twenty years "ſince I engaged in the cauſe of liberty, "by contributing to accompliſh the Revo-"lution of the United States of America.

the beginning of September. "In having puniſhed "*Louis the Tyrant*," ſaid *Genſonné*, "we have but done "half our duty; to complete the work of prudence "we muſt rigorouſly proſecute thoſe brigands, thoſe "cannibals, who on the 2d and 3d of September "added to the hiſtory of our Revolution the bloody "page of the priſons." This propoſition was decreed, with two amendments, which enjoined the Miniſter of Juſtice to proſecute with equal rigour of the law thoſe perſons who, in the night of the 9th or 10th of Auguſt, were aſſembled in arms at the Palace of the Thuilleries againſt the people, and thoſe public functionaries alſo who were ſuſpected of having quitted their poſt about the ſame time, in order to come to Paris, with a view of conſpiring with the Royaliſts. Whilſt the Aſſembly were paſſing this decree, a Deputy who had voted for the death of the King (*Le Pelletier de St. Fargeau*) was aſſaſſinated in a coffee-houſe of the Palais-Royal by a man who formerly belonged to the body guard, and whoſe name was *Paris*.

" My language has always been the lan-
" guage of liberty and humanity. Expe-
" rience has taught me, that nothing ſo
" much exalts the ſpirit of a nation as the
" union of theſe two principles in all cir-
" cumſtances. I know that the public
" mind throughout France, and eſpecially
" in Paris, has been heated and irritated by
" the dangers to which the country has
" been expoſed: but if we look forward
" towards that period in which thoſe dan-
" gers and the irritation they have produced
" ſhall be forgotten, then we ſhall be able
" to perceive, that the very tranſaction
" which to our preſent view bears the ſem-
" blance of an act of juſtice, will then ap-
" pear as a deed of vengeance. My anx-
" iety for the cauſe of France is now con-
" verted into an anxiety for her honour;
" and ſhould it be reſerved for me, after
" my return to America, to write the Hiſ-
" tory of the French Revolution, I would
" much rather have to record a thouſand
" errors proceeding from a regard to hu-
" manity, than a ſingle one inſpired by too
" ſevere a principle of juſtice. France has
" at this time but one ally, the United States
" of America; and this ally is the only
" nation

" nation that can furniſh her with naval " ſtores; for the Northern Powers, which " have commonly ſupplied them, are, or very " ſoon will, be at war with her: beſides it " moſt unfortunately happens that the object " of the preſent diſcuſſion is regarded in the " United States as their beſt friend, as the " parent of their liberty. I am able to aſſure " you that his execution will ſpread an " univerſal affliction among them, and you " have it now in your power to ſpare your " beſt friends ſo much ſorrow. If I could " ſpeak the French language, I would at " your Bar preſent a petition in the name of " my American brethren for the delay of " the execution of *Louis.*"

The reading of this ſpeech, which had been tranſlated from the Engliſh, was often interrupted by violent murmurs: it was pretended that this could not be the opinion of *Thomas Paine*; that his tranſlator had betrayed him inſtead of tranſlating his ſentiments; but a Deputy declared that he had read the original in the hands of *Paine*, and that the French was a faithful tranſlation. Hence it muſt be recorded, to the eternal ſhame of this Aſſembly, that *Thomas Paine*, who had long wandered in the fanaticiſm of the moſt

moſt violent democratic principles, proved himſelf the wiſeſt, the moſt humane, the boldeſt, in a word, the moſt innocent among them.

Many meaſures of delay were propoſed: one till the ratification of the Conſtitution by the people; another till peace ſhould take place; and a third till the territory of the Republic ſhould be invaded by the enemy. *Barrere* combated all theſe propoſitions in a long ſpeech, tending to prove that the firſt was dangerous, the next impolitic and Machiavelian, and the laſt barbarous. "I know not," ſaid he, "any procedure more cruel, more inhuman, than to ſuſpend a ſword over the "head of a man, and to tell him, at each "movement of the enemy's forces—*Now "your head falls.* No, I cannot conſider "him as a Legiſlator, who would thus "conſtrain a condemned criminal to drink "the cup of death at long repeated "draughts."

It no doubt appeared to him a much wiſer and a much more humane plan, to have him executed in twenty-four hours, as *Marat* had propoſed. He concluded with moving that the queſtion of delay ſhould be determined

mined by a call of votes. The Aſſembly decreed that this ſhould be proceeded upon immediately, and that each Member ſhould anſwer plainly and ſimply by *Aye* or *No*. Out of 690 voters, 310 voted for delay, and 380 againſt it.

After the proclamation of the reſult of the votes, *Cambaceres* read a motion for a decree, which, with ſome amendments, was adopted in theſe words:

" A notification of the decree which " pronounces death againſt *Louis Capet* " ſhall be ſent inſtantly to the Executive " Council.

" The Executive Council ſhall be charged " to notify the decree to *Louis* in the " courſe of the day, and to cauſe it to be " be executed within twenty-four hours " after the notification; and ſhall enforce " whatever meaſures of general ſafety and " police may appear neceſſary to them for " the furtherance of the execution. They " ſhall give an account of their proceedings " to the Convention.

" The Mayor and Municipal Officers of " Paris ſhall be enjoined to ſuffer *Louis* " to communicate with his family, and

" to have with him ſuch prieſts as he " may deſire to attend him in his laſt mo- " ments."

It was three o'clock in the morning when this fatal Sitting roſe.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XLI.

Treatment received by the King after his Trial—His Conduct in the Temple ſubſequent to his Knowledge of the Judgment paſſed againſt him—His laſt Interview with the Queen and his Family—Religious State of his Mind—His Execution—His Will—Concluſion.

FROM the 14th of December, the day on which the King underwent his firſt examination, his Majeſty, ſeparated from his family, had been deprived of all communication

cation except with his advocates. They met every afternoon in his apartment at five o'clock, and continued with him till nine. The ſubjects for theſe converſations were prepared and diſcuſſed in the morning by the King with M. *de Maleſherbes*, who daily brought him the public papers, new pamphlets, and printed ſpeeches of the Members of the Convention. His Majeſty read them in the courſe of the day, and burnt them at night, that he might not commit M. *de Maleſherbes*. When ſome Municipal Officer, leſs ſavage than moſt of his colleagues, propoſed to the King to walk in the garden, he anſwered with his uſual mildneſs, "No, I cannot think of going "alone; I did not enjoy walking but in "company with my family." It required all his virtue and piety to ſupport, with ſuch reſignation, the perſecutions of every kind which the infamous Commune of Paris made him ſuffer, and the indignities of which their diabolical agents daily aggravated, in proportion to their *patriotiſm*. He only allowed ſome very affecting expreſſions of grief and tenderneſs to eſcape him on the 19th of December, on recollecting that it was his daughter's birth-day, and that he

was

was deprived of the pleaſure of ſeeing her *.

On the 26th of December, the King having undergone his laſt examination, had a right to expect to ſee his family again; for by the penal code that conſolation could not be refuſed to the worſt of criminals. The Commune, however, did not deign to grant it to *Louis* XVI. and he ſupported without a murmur this new act of barbarity, which was not ordained indeed by the Convention, but which, as they were not ignorant of it, they at leaſt authorized by their ſilence.

On the 16th of January, while the Aſſembly were proceeding on the firſt call of votes on the judgment, four Municipal Officers entered the King's room, and read a decree of the Commune to him, importing in ſubſtance, "That he ſhould be kept in "ſight, night and day, by the ſaid four "Municipal Officers, and that two of them "ſhould ſtay all night by his bedſide." The King aſking if the judgment had been pronounced, one of them, having firſt ſeated himſelf in the arm-chair that belonged to

* See *Clery's* Journal.

his

his Majeſty, who was ſtanding, anſwered, that he did not trouble himſelf about what was paſſing at the Convention, but, however, he had heard ſay, that they were ſtill voting. As ſoon as the judgment was pronounced, M. *de Maleſherbes* went to inform the King of it. He threw himſelf at his feet, his voice was ſtifled by ſobs, and for ſeveral moments he could not utter a word. The King raiſed him, and preſſed him to his boſom with warmth. M. *de Maleſherbes* then made known to him the decree ſentencing him to death: his Majeſty ſhowed no mark of ſurpriſe or agitation, but ſeemed affected only at the grief of that venerable old man, and even endeavoured to conſole him. He took him to his cloſet, ſhut the door, and remained an hour alone with him. When M. *de Maleſherbes* went away, his Majeſty deſired him to come and ſee him again early in the evening, and not to deſert him in his laſt moments. "The grief of "this good old man has greatly affected "me," ſaid the King to *Clery*, who at the firſt words uttered by M. *de Maleſherbes*, was ſeized with a univerſal trembling; and his Majeſty perceiving that faithful ſervant

ready to fall, caught his hands, and preſſing them warmly, ſaid in a gentle voice, *Come, come, more courage.*

In the evening, *Clery* having followed the King to his cloſet, ſpoke to him of the delay of the ſentence, and ſaid that M. *de Maleſherbes* did not think it would be refuſed; that the people loudly murmured, and were ſhocked at the infamous conduct of the Duke of *Orleans*; that the Foreign Ambaſſadors were to meet and go to the Aſſembly, who were ſaid to be afraid of an inſurrection. "I have no hope and I look "for none," replied the King; "I ſhould "be very ſorry there were an inſurrection, "for there would be new victims. I do "not fear death," added his Majeſty; "but I cannot, without ſhuddering, con- "template the cruel lot which I leave be- "hind me, to my Family, to the Queen, "to our unfortunate children, to thoſe "faithful ſervants who have never aban- "doned me, and thoſe old men whoſe ſub- "ſiſtence depended upon the little penſions "I allowed them! Who will ſuccour and "protect them? I ſee the people delivered "over a prey to anarchy, become the vic- "tims of every faction; crimes ſucceed

" crimes, long diſſenſions tear France in " pieces." Then, after a moment's pauſe, " O my God!" he exclaimed, " is this the " reward which I muſt receive for all my " ſacrifices? Have I not tried every thing " to enſure the happineſs of the French " people*?"

In vain did the King expect M. *de Malesherbes*. The Commune was no ſooner informed of the cloſing and reſult of the third call of votes, than they iſſued an order, directing that the advocates of the King ſhould have no farther communication with him, and that the Municipal officers at the Temple ſhould make a ſtrict ſearch throughout his apartments. The Commune made known this order to the Aſſembly, who approved of it in paſſing to the order of the day. The Municipals charged with the execution of it entered the King's apartment at nine o'clock in the morning, and ſearched every where in the moſt minute manner, under pretence of taking care that no weapon or edged inſtrument were in his Majeſty's power†. On

* See *Clery*'s Journal.

† Theſe infamous Municipals were not ſatisfied with taking care that the King had no weapons or edged inſtruments,

On Sunday January 20th, the Miniſters met very early in the morning to deliberate on the execution of the laſt decree of the Aſſembly, of which they had received notice between three and four o'clock in the morning: they called in two commiſſioners of the Department, the Mayor, the Commander in Chief, the Public Accuſer, and the Preſident of the Criminal Court of the Department of Paris. At the concluſion of the conference, *Garat*, the Miniſter of Juſtice, *Le Brun*, the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, and *Grouvelle*, the Secretary of the Council, accompanied by two Members of the Department, the Mayor and the Commander in Chief repaired to the Temple, and entered the King's apartment exactly at two o'clock.

Garat, with his hat on, addreſſed him thus:—"*Louis*, the National Convention

ſtruments, they prevented his uſing his fork at his meals. "Do they think me ſo baſe as to attempt my "life?" ſaid his Majeſty to the Municipal officer who informed him of the order of the Commune. "I am "charged with crimes of which I am innocent, and "ſhall die without fear. I wiſh that my death may "be productive of happineſs to the French, and avert "the misfortunes I foreſee." *See Clery's Journal.*

" has charged the Proviſionary Executive " Council to make known to you its decrees " of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, and 20th " of January. The Secretary of the Coun- " cil will read them to you." On which *Grouvelle*, the Secretary, unrolled the decree, and read it with a weak and tremulous voice.

During the reading of it no alteration took place in the King's countenance. He took the decree from the hands of the Secretary, folded it up, and put it into his pocket-book, from which he took out another paper, and preſenting it to the Miniſter *Garat*, deſired he would deliver it immediately to the National Convention. The Miniſter appearing to heſitate, the King added, " I will read it to you ;" and without the leaſt change of countenance read what follows:

" I demand a delay of three days, that I " may be able to prepare myſelf for appear- " ing before God. I alſo for that purpoſe " demand that I may freely ſee the perſon " whom I ſhall point out to the Com- " miſſioners of the Commune; and that " that perſon may be enſured from all fear, " and

" and all uneaſineſs on account of the act
" of charity he may beſtow upon me."

" I demand to be freed from the inceſſant
" inſpection which the Council General
" have for ſome days paſt eſtabliſhed.

" I demand, in that interval, to be em-
" powered to ſee my family at the time I
" ſhall appoint, and without a witneſs. I
" earneſtly wiſh that the National Conven-
" tion would immediately take into conſi-
" deration the ſtate of my family, and that
" they may be permitted freely to go where-
" ever they think proper.

" I recommend to the bounty of the na-
" tion at large thoſe perſons who were de-
" pendant upon me: there are very many
" of them who had ſunk their whole for-
" tune in their places, from the loſs of
" which they muſt now be in great want;
" and others, who never had any thing to
" live upon but their appointments. Among
" the penſioners there are many old men,
" women, and children, who have alſo no
" other ſupport."

" Done at the Tower of the Temple, the
" 20th of January 1793."

(Signed) " LOUIS."

Garat took the paper, and faid to the King, that the Executive Council would deliberate upon it. As he was leaving the room his Majeſty felt again in his pocket, took out his pocket-book, and, preſenting a paper from it, ſaid, "Sir, if the Con-"vention agrees to my demand of the per-"ſon I deſire, here is his addreſs." He then gave it to a Municipal officer. This addreſs, written in a different hand from the King's, was, *Monſieur Edgeworth de Firmont, No.* 483, *Rue du Bacq.*

The Miniſter of Juſtice went immediately and gave an account of theſe occurrences to the Aſſembly, who paſſed the following decree:

"The National Convention decree that "*Louis* ſhall be at liberty to call in any "Miniſter of worſhip he may think pro-"per, and to ſee his family without wit-"neſſes. They authorize the Executive "Council to inform him, that the nation, "ever great and ever juſt, will conſider the "ſituation of his family.

"On the demand relative to the creditors "of his houſehold, they paſs to the order "of the day, becauſe thoſe creditors have "a right to appear and demand payment or "juſt indemnity.

"Laſtly,

" Laſtly, they paſs to the order of the " day on the demand made by *Louis* that " the execution of the judgment ſhould be " delayed for three days."

It ſurely required all the impudence of the regicides to dare to ſpeak of the greatneſs and juſtice of the nation at the very moment when its worthleſs Repreſentatives were about to conſummate the moſt infamous and barbarous crime! Alas! it was not in thoſe days of ſhame and calamity, the memory of which will be held in everlaſting abhorrence by the nation, it was not when it ſuffered its ſovereignty to be exerciſed by the vileſt and baſeſt villains; it was not when it allowed the moſt virtuous of its Kings to be dragged to the ſcaffold, that the French nation was great and juſt; enſlaved and ſtupified by terror, it was at that time groaning beneath a yoke more ſhameful, more horrible than any nation on the face of the earth had ever been deſtined to endure.

The firſt and laſt ordinance of the decree I have juſt reported were nearly the only ones put in execution*. When the Miniſter

* As for the ſituation oft he Royal Family, it is known how they were conſidered by *Robeſpierre* and his executioner-judges.

of Juſtice informed the Commiſſioners of the Temple that the King was to ſee his Family freely, and without witneſſes, they adduced in oppoſition the order of the Commune which enjoined them *not to loſe ſight of the King day or night*; and it was agreed between the Commiſſioners and the Miniſter, that to reconcile the two contradictory arrangements, the King ſhould receive his family in the eating-room, ſo as to be ſeen through the glaſs door, which, however, ſhould be ſhut that he might not be heard*.

When M. *de Malcſherbes* firſt viſited the King at the Temple as one of his Counſel, his Majeſty, who conſidered his condemnation as certain, expreſſed his moſt anxious deſire to ſee his Confeſſor, and mentioned the Abbè *Edgeworth*, Grand Vicar of the Dioceſe of Paris, and Confeſſor to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, as the one he would prefer; deſiring M. *de Malcſherbes* to take every ſtep towards obtaining for that gentleman free acceſs to him, without any danger of being inſulted; but requeſting, at the ſame time, that the Abbé might be informed, that his Majeſty would not preſs this upon him, if

* See *Clery*'s Journal.

he

he dreaded any perſonal riſk on that account; in which caſe he was requeſted to point out ſome other proper perſon for that office, the King being willing to rely entirely on the Abbé's recommendation.

M. *de Maleſherbes* having executed his Majeſty's commiſſion, found M. *Edgeworth* cordially diſpoſed to the duty required of him. It was not till the 20th of January 1793, at four o'clock in the afternoon, that he was ſent for to the Thuilleries by the Executive Council, who were aſſembled there. When admitted into the room where the Miniſters were convened, he was greatly ſtruck with the terror and conſternation which appeared in their countenances.

" *Louis Capet* deſires to ſee you," ſaid the Miniſter of Juſtice, (*Garat*). " Will " you go to him to the Temple?"

" Unqueſtionably I will," replied the Abbé. " The King's requeſt is an order in " my eyes."

" Follow me then, I will conduct you " to him," reſumed the ſame Miniſter, who was going to notify to his Majeſty the decree of the Convention, in conſequence of the King's requeſts to them, and to announce that the following morning, at ten o'clock,

was

was fixed for his execution. The Miniſter of Juſtice took the Abbé into the carriage with him; and on the way from the Thuilleries to the Temple he ſeveral times repeated, with an accent of deſpair, "What a dread-" ful commiſſion!"

M. *Edgeworth* being ſummoned to fulfil one of the moſt ſolemn and ſacred duties of his Miniſtry, was deſirous of obſerving the forms which the church preſcribes, and urged the propriety of attending his Majeſty in prieſt's veſtments.

"That is impoſſible," replied the Miniſter of juſtice.

When they arrived at the Temple, they found the tower ſurrounded by a conſiderable number of National Guards, by one of whom they were introduced into a hall, where twelve or fifteen Members of the *Commune de Paris* were ſitting, and at that time formed that Court called *Conſeil de la Commune ſéant au Temple.* Six or ſeven of them accompanied the Miniſter to the King's chamber, and the others retained the Abbé with them, although the Miniſter expreſſed a deſire of preſenting him to the King.

This Council was certainly compoſed of the

the moſt unfeeling and brutal men in the Municipality. They behaved to M. *Edgeworth*, not only without compaſſion, but they even ſhowed a ferocious joy. They rudely ſearched all his pockets, opened his ſnuff-box to ſee whether it did not contain poiſon, examined his pencil caſe, on the pretext that it might conceal a ſtiletto. They then made him aſcend to the King's apartment by a little narrow ſtaircaſe, where ſentinels were placed at ſmall intervals, ſome of them drunk, ſwearing, and ſinging, as if it had been an ale-houſe.

The Miniſter of Juſtice was ſtill in the King's apartment with thoſe Members of the Council who had accompanied him to his Majeſty; the ſerene dignity of whoſe countenance formed a ſtriking contraſt to the haggard and villanous looks of the wretches who ſurrounded him. As ſoon as the King perceived the Abbé *Edgeworth*, he made a movement, expreſſive of his deſire to be left alone with him. The other perſons immediately withdrew. The King ſhut the door, and turned towards the Abbé, who ſunk on his knees, kiſſed his Majeſty's hand, and bathed it with his tears. The King, equally affected, raiſed M. *Edgeworth*, ſaying,

"None

" None but the moſt unrelenting of men " have been allowed to approach me of late. " My eyes are accuſtomed to them; but the " ſight of a man of humanity, a faithful " ſubject, affects my whole ſoul, and melts " me as you ſee."

Being in ſome meaſure recovered, he led the Abbé into his cloſet, and having made him ſit down, he read his laſt will twice over to him, with a firm tone and proper emphaſis; his voice failing only at thoſe parts where mention is made of the queen, his children, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

" What is become of the good Cardinal " *de la Rochefoucault*," ſaid the King, after a ſhort pauſe, " and the Archbiſhop of " Paris? Have you any news of him? I " fear he is diſpleaſed with me. He wrote " to me while I was at the Thuilleries. I " did not anſwer his letter, I was ſo ſur- " rounded. He will forgive me. Aſſure " him that I die in his communion; and " that in ſpite of all the changes made, " I always conſidered myſelf as one of " his flock. What is become of ſuch a " number of good prieſts?"—" There are " a great many in England," replied the Abbé *Edgeworth*, " where they have been " honourably

" honourably received and aſſiſted by the " Government and the individuals of the " nation."—" Oh!" cried he, " I am " heartily glad of it; this is another proof " to me of the good heart of *George* III., " and of the generoſity of the Engliſh na- " tion."

It is difficult to do juſtice to the devout, ſublime, and heroic ſentiments expreſſed by the King in this intereſting conference, particularly when he ſpoke of his own ſituation and that of his family; but, above all, when he dwelt on the misfortunes of his country.

" This people, by nature good," ſaid he, " but now miſguided and enſlaved by a few " unprincipled leaders, would never have " ſuffered me to be accuſed of tyranny, if " they had known how much their happi- " neſs has always been dear to me, and how " ſincerely I have wiſhed to promote it. In " proportion as I have been deprived of the " means and hope of attaining an object " which I had ſo much at heart, life has " become more and more diſguſting to me; " and I now make the ſacrifice without " regret. I am certain that the time will " come when the French people will lament

" my

" my loſs. Yes, I am confident that they " will do juſtice to my memory when they " ſhall know the truth; when they have " the liberty of being juſt; but alas! till " then they are, and will be, very un- " happy!"

This reflection on the misfortunes of his country again drew tears from the eyes of the generous Monarch.

Speaking of the Duke of *Orleans*, he ſaid,

" I do not know what I have done to my " couſin, to make him behave to me in " the manner he has done; but he is to be " pitied. He is ſtill more unfortunate than " I am. I certainly would not change con- " ditions with him."

After this he roſe, ſaying,

" I muſt now go and ſee my family for " the laſt time. This will be the ſevereſt " trial of all. When that is over, I ſhall " fix my mind ſolely on what concerns my " ſalvation."

At eight o'clock the King came out of his cloſet, where he left the Abbé *Edgeworth*, and deſired the Commiſſioners to conduct him to his Family. They replied, that

that could not be, but his Family ſhould be brought down, if he deſired it. "Be it "ſo," ſaid the King; "but I may at leaſt "ſee them alone in my chamber."—"No," rejoined one of them, "we have ſettled "with the Miniſter of Juſtice that it ſhall "be in the eating room."—"You have "heard," ſaid his Majeſty, "that the de-"cree of the Convention permits me to ſee "them without witneſſes."—"True," replied the officers, "you will be in private; "the door ſhall be ſhut, but we ſhall have "our eyes upon you through the glaſs."—"Let my Family come," ſaid the King.

At half paſt eight the door opened. The Queen came firſt, leading her ſon by the hand; Madame *Royale* and Madame *Elizabeth* followed *. They all threw themſelves into the arms of the King. A melancholy ſilence prevailed for ſome minutes, and it was only broken by ſighs and ſobs. The Queen made an inclination towards his Majeſty's chamber.

* *Clery*, the only perſon worthy of credit who witneſſed that afflicting ſcene, has publiſhed an account of it, the accuracy of which has been atteſted by Madame *Royale*: it is a ſacred picture, and it would be ſacrilege to alter a ſingle touch of it. I have only copied it.

No," ſaid the King, " let us go into this " room, I can ſee you only there." They went in, and *Clery* ſhut the glaſs door. The King ſat down; the Queen was on his left hand, Madame *Elizabeth* on his right, Madame *Royale* nearly oppoſite, and the young Prince ſtood between his legs: all were leaning on the King, and often preſſed him in their embraces. This ſcene of ſorrow laſted an hour and three quarters, during which it was impoſſible to hear any thing. It could, however, be ſeen, that after every ſentence uttered by the King, the agitation of the Queen and Princeſſes increaſed, laſted ſome minutes, and then the King began to ſpeak again. It was plain, from their geſtures, that they received from himſelf the firſt intelligence of his condemnation.

At a quarter paſt ten the King roſe firſt; they all followed. The Queen held the King by his right arm; their Majeſties gave each a hand to the Dauphin. Madame *Royale*, to the left of the King, folded him in her arms; and, behind her, Madame *Elizabeth*, on the ſame ſide, had taken his arm. They advanced ſome ſteps towards the entry door, breaking forth into the moſt bitter

bitter lamentations. "I aſſure you," ſaid the King, "that I will ſee you again to-"morrow morning at eight o'clock."—"You promiſe?" ſaid they altogether. "Yes, I promiſe."—"Why not at ſeven "o'clock?" ſaid the Queen.—"Well! yes, "at ſeven," replied the King—"Fare-"well!" He pronounced "farewell" in ſo impreſſive a manner, that their ſobs were renewed, and *Madame Royale* fainted at the feet of the King, round whom ſhe had clung. *Clery* raiſed her, and aſſiſted *Madame Elizabeth* to ſupport her. The King, willing to put an end to this agonizing ſcene, once more embraced them all moſt tenderly, and had the reſolution to tear himſelf from their arms. "Farewell! fare-"well!" ſaid he, and went into his chamber.

The Queen, Princeſſes, and Dauphin, returned to their own apartments. Though both the doors were ſhut, the ſcreams and lamentations of the Queen and Princeſſes were heard for ſome time on the ſtairs *.

The King having joined the Abbé *Edgeworth* in his cloſet, ſaid to him, "Why do

* See *Clery*'s Journal.

" I love with ſo much tenderneſs, and " wherefore am I ſo tenderly beloved? " but the painful ſacrifice is over. Let " me now turn my thoughts to the care of " my ſalvation alone."

Having thus expreſſed himſelf, he remained for ſome minutes in ſilent meditation, interrupted by ſighs, accompanied with tears, and then began to converſe on the great truths of religion; and aſtoniſhed his confeſſor as much by the extenſive knowledge he diſplayed on that ſubject, as he had before edified him by his piety.

At ten o'clock, *Clery*, his faithful valet-de-chambre, came and propoſed that he ſhould take ſome ſupper. The King conſented, leſs from any inclination to eat, than to oblige *Clery*, who made the requeſt with tears in his eyes. After eating a mouthful, as he roſe from the table, he ſaid to M. *Edgeworth*,

" You ought alſo to take ſome nouriſh-" ment; you are ſurely much exhauſted."

This ſlight repaſt being over, the Abbé aſked the King whether he would not like to hear maſs, and to receive the Communion. The King replied, that he deſired it with ardour; but he ſhowed, at the ſame

time, that he had little hopes of that favour being granted him.

"I muſt have permiſſion," ſaid he, "from this Council in the Temple, who "have hitherto granted me nothing but "what was impoſſible to be withheld."

M. *Edgeworth* went directly and ſignified the King's requeſt to the Council ſitting in the Temple. He met with many difficulties.

"There are examples in hiſtory," ſaid a Member of this hardened Court, "of "prieſts who have mixed poiſon with the "hoſtie*."

"I have been ſufficiently ſearched to ſa-"tisfy you," replied the Abbé, "that I "have no poiſon about me: but to render "yourſelves ſtill more certain, you have "only to furniſh me with the hoſties; and "if they ſhould prove poiſoned, the blame "will not be imputable to me."

To this the Council made no immediate anſwer; but the Members went into the room where they uſually held their meetings. The King's demand was formally deliberated on; after which the Abbé being called in, the Preſident ſaid,

* The conſecrated wafer.

" Citizen miniſter of worſhip, that " which *Louis Capet* requeſts not be- " ing contrary to law, we have agreed to " grant it on two conditions: firſt, that you " ſign the requeſt; and in the ſecond place, " that the ceremony you intend to perform " terminate before ſeven o'clock to-mor- " row morning; becauſe at eight o'clock " *Louis Capet* muſt go hence to the place of " execution."

The Abbé *Edgeworth* ſubmitted to thoſe conditions, and directly went and informed the King, who expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at the hope of once more having the conſolation of hearing maſs, and of receiving the communion. He fell on his knees to return thanks to the Almighty, and immediately after began his confeſſion. When it was ended, M. *Edgeworth*, ſeeing the King almoſt exhauſted with the anguiſh and fatigue he had undergone, adviſed him to go to bed, and endeavour to get a little repoſe. His Majeſty conſented, and prevailed on the Abbé to lay down in *Clery*'s bed, which was in the ſame room.

It wanted about a quarter of one o'clock in

in the morning when the King went to bed*, and ſcarcely had he lain down, before he fell into a profound and gentle ſleep; nor did he wake till five o'clock, when *Clery* lighting his fire, made ſome noiſe. "I have "ſlept well," ſaid he to him—"I had "need of it; yeſterday was a fatiguing "day." As ſoon as he was dreſſed, he went into his cloſet with the Abbé *Edgeworth*, while *Clery* was preparing an altar in his room. "How happy am I," ſaid he to the Abbé, "in having preſerved my "religious ſentiments! In what a ſtate "ſhould I have been at this moment, had "not God given me that grace! Yes, I "will ſhow them that I know how to "die."

The King heard maſs, and received the Communion with the greateſt attention and devotion. Having finiſhed his prayers, he went back to his cloſet, followed by *Clery*. "I am ſatisfied with your attentions, "*Clery*," ſaid his Majeſty to him in an

* When *Clery*, undreſſing him, was preparing to roll his hair as uſual, the King ſaid to him, "It is not "worth while, *Clery*; wake me to-morrow morning at "five o'clock."

affectionate tone, and at the ſame time taking him by both hands. That faithful ſervant, affected beyond expreſſion, threw himſelf at the feet of his maſter, and expreſſed the grief of his heart. "Hope, Sire!" "They will not dare to ſtrike the blow."—"Death," ſaid the King, "does not alarm "me, I am quite prepared for it; but do not "you expoſe yourſelf: I mean to requeſt "that you ſhould remain with my ſon. "Take every care of him in this horrid "abode; bring to his mind, tell him, all "the pangs I ſuffered for the misfortunes "entailed upon him: the day perhaps may "come when he will have it in his power "to reward your zeal."—"Oh! my maſ-"ter! Oh! my King!" cried *Clery*, ſtill at his feet, "if the moſt abſolute devotion, "if my zeal, if my attentions have been "agreeable to you, the only reward I de-"ſire of your Majeſty is to receive your "bleſſing; do not refuſe it to the laſt "Frenchman remaining with you." *Clery* was ſtill at his feet, holding one of his hands. In that ſtate he granted his requeſt, and bleſſed him; then raiſing him, preſſed him to his boſom, ſaying, "Give my "bleſſing to all who are in my ſervice."

At

At ſeven o'clock the King, coming out of his cloſet, called *Clery*, and giving him a ſeal, a ring, and a packet of hair, ſaid, "You will give this ſeal to my ſon—this "ring to the Queen, and aſſure her that it "is with pain I part with it—this little "packet contains the hair of all my Family, "you will give her that too. Tell the "Queen, my dear children, and my ſiſter, "that although I promiſed to ſee them this "morning, I have reſolved to ſpare them "the pangs of ſo cruel a ſeparation. Tell "them how much it coſts me to go with-"out receiving their embraces once more." He wiped away ſome tears, then added, in the moſt mournful accent, "I charge you "to bear them my laſt farewell!"

His Majeſty then retired to his cloſet in a moſt affecting ſtate, but in about a quarter of an hour after, again came out, and ſaid, "*Clery*, inquire if I can have a pair of "ſciſſars." *Clery* made the requeſt known to the Commiſſioners. "We muſt know "what he wants to do with them," ſaid the Commiſſioner. His Majeſty anſwered, "It is that *Clery* may cut my hair." The Municipal Officers went down to the Council Chamber, where, after an hour's delibe-

ration, the ſciſſars were refuſed. The Officer came up and acquainted the King with the deciſion. "I did not mean to touch "the ſciſſars," ſaid his Majeſty; "I ſhould "have deſired *Clery* to cut my hair before "you: try once more, Sir; I beg you to "repreſent my requeſt." The officer went back to the Council, who, with as much ſtupidity as barbarity, perſiſted in their refuſal. "The executioner is good enough "for him," ſaid theſe men of blood*.

The National Guard and troops of the line that were at Paris, were under arms by five o'clock in the morning. The drums were beating through all the ſtreets. The trampling of horſes and rolling of cannon from place to place were heard at the Temple. A rapping at the door of the Tower agitated the Abbé *Edgeworth*, who feared the fatal moment was arrived: it was then near nine o'clock. The King, betrayed not the leaſt emotion, but maintained his uſual ſerenity. It was the guards who reſumed their poſts. His Majeſty having addreſſed himſelf to one of them, the wretch had the brutality to anſwer,

* See *Clery's* Journal.

"That

"That would have been very well for-
"merly, citizen, but you are no longer a
"King."

"You ſee how I am treated," ſaid his Majeſty, addreſſing M. *Edgeworth*; "but "nothing can ſhock me now.—Here they "come," reſumed the King calmly, on hearing ſome perſons aſcending the ſtair.

It was the Commiſſioners of the Commune, with a prieſt at their head, called *Jacques Roux*. They came to announce that the hour was at hand.

"It is enough," ſaid the King; "I will "join you directly; but I wiſh to paſs a "few moments alone with my confeſſor."

They retired. His Majeſty ſhut the door, and ſaid, falling on his knees,

"All is conſummated. Give me your laſt "benediction."

Fear of the danger to which the Abbé *Edgeworth* might be expoſed, in accompanying the King to the place of execution, had prevented his Majeſty from making ſuch a propoſition, and he ſuppoſed that they were now to ſeparate: but when he found that it was the fixed reſolution of this venerable man, worthy of the ſacred functions he exerciſed, to abide by him to the laſt,

laſt, his Majeſty was at once moved by tenderneſs and filled with ſatisfaction.

Having thrown open the door,

"*Marchons*," ſaid he, with a firm tone of voice, to *Santèrre*, who waited without *.

At the moment ever to be deplored, when the martyrdom of *Louis* XVI. was conſummated, the Convention decreed that an addreſs ſhould be ſent to the 84 Departments, and to the armies by expreſs, to juſtify this horrible crime, and to inform them of the pretended crime of treaſon againſt the nation, committed on the perſon of *Le Pelletier St. Fargeau* *. They decreed the honours

* For the remainder of this horrid event, ſee Private Memoirs, Vol. III. page 272 to 282.

† *Barrere* being appointed to draw up this addreſs, ſhowed himſelf worthy of the employment by the atrocious and execrable ſpeech which he delivered from the Tribune on the occaſion. I ſhall only cite the following paſſage of it: "The event that has taken place," ſaid he, ſpeaking of the execution of the King, "has "nothing extraordinary in it. It is frequently ſeen "that the blood of Kings cement the foundations of "Republics; but I have never known the blood of "patriots cement it too. The hiſtory of every coun-"try proves, that in all Revolutions of Empires there

nours of the Pantheon to this regicide, and paſſed a reſolution to attend his funeral in a body. A few minutes before, they had rejected the petition of a pious and intrepid Royaliſt, *Benoit-le-Duc*, who had written to the Convention, begging the body of *Louis* XVI. in order to give it the honours of interment, and to lay it in the cathedral church of Sens by his father's ſide. *Chabot*, the Capuchin, pretending that great dangers were to be apprehended if this petition were granted, obtained a decree, ordering that *Louis* XVI. ſhould be buried in the uſual place of interment for the citizens of the Section, in the bounds of which he was to be executed! But—now begins the reign of *Robeſpierre*, and my taſk is completed.—It only remains for me to preſerve here that immortal act, the will of *Louis* XVI. which poſterity will never read without tears for the fate of the moſt unfortunate of Kings, and without admiration of it as a pious monument of the glory of *Louis*

" is but a ſtep from the Throne to the ſcaffold; *and* " *Philoſophers have often remarked that both are on a foot-* " *ing.*" No philoſophy ſurely but that of *Robeſpierre* could at that dreadful moment ſuggeſt ſuch puns.

XVI.

XVI. ſufficient of itſelf to juſtify all that I have ſaid of his character and virtues.

THE WILL OF LOUIS XVI.

" In the name of the Holy Trinity, the " Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. This day, " the 21ſt day of December 1792, I, *Louis* " XVI. King of France, having been for " more than four months ſhut up with " my family in the Tower of the Temple, " by thoſe who were my ſubjects, and " deprived of every communication, even " with my family, ſince the 11th of this " month; and being moreover involved in " a trial, of which, from the paſſions of " men, it is impoſſible to foreſee the event; " and for which neither pretext nor prece- " dent can be found in any exiſting law; " having no witneſs of my thoughts but " God, and no one but him to whom I " can addreſs myſelf, here declare, in his " preſence, my laſt will and ſentiments.

" I recommend my ſoul to God my " Creator, beſeeching him to receive it in " his mercy, and not to judge me accord-

" ing

" ing to my merits, but according to the
" merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, who
" offered himſelf as a ſacrifice to God his
" Father for the human race, unworthy as
" we are, myſelf in particular. I die in
" the communion of our Holy Mother,
" the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman
" Church, which holds its powers by an
" uninterrupted ſucceſſion from St. Peter,
" to whom Jeſus Chriſt intruſted them.
" I firmly believe all that is contained in the
" Apoſtle's creed, and in the command-
" ments of God and the Church; in the
" Sacraments and myſteries as the Catholic
" Church teaches and has always taught.
" I have never preſumed to make myſelf a
" judge of the different manners of explain-
" ing the doctrines which divide the Church
" of Jeſus Chriſt, but I have always ad-
" hered to, and if it pleaſes God to pro-
" long my life, ſhall always abide by the
" deciſions which the ſuperior Eccleſiaſtics,
" in union with the holy Church, have
" given, according to the diſcipline obſerved
" ſince Jeſus Chriſt. I lament, with my-
" whole heart, thoſe of my brethren of
" mankind who are in error, but do not
" preſume to judge them; and I do not the

" leſs

" leſs love them all in Jeſus Chriſt, as " Chriſtian charity enjoins. I implore God " to pardon all my ſins. I have endea- " voured ſcrupulouſly to know them, to " deteſt them, and to humble myſelf in " the preſence of the Almighty. Not hav- " ing it in my power to avail myſelf of the " miniſtry of a Catholic prieſt, I pray God " to receive the confeſſion which I have " made to him: above all, my deep repen- " tance for having ſigned my name (al- " though againſt my will) to acts contrary " to the diſcipline and belief of the Catho- " lic Church, to which my heart has ever " been ſincerely united. I beſeech God to " accept my firm reſolution of taking the " firſt opportunity in my power of making " a full confeſſion of my ſins to a Catholic " prieſt, and of receiving the ſacrament of " penitence. I beg all thoſe whom I have " offended, through inadvertency, (for I do " not recollect having ever intentionally " offended any one) and alſo thoſe to whom " I may have given a bad example, to for- " give me for the evil which ſuch conduct " may have produced. I beſeech all thoſe " who are endowed with charity to join " their prayers with mine, to obtain of God

" the

" the pardon of my iniquities. I pardon, " with my whole heart, thoſe who have " become my enemies without cauſe, and I " pray God to pardon them; as alſo thoſe " who, from falſe or miſtaken zeal, have " done me the greateſt injuries.

" I recommend to God, my wife, my " children, my ſiſter, my aunts, my bro- " thers, and all thoſe who are attached to " me by the ties of blood, or in any man- " ner whatſoever. I earneſtly entreat of " God to caſt the eyes of mercy on my " wife, my children, and my ſiſter, who " have for a long time ſuffered with me; " and in caſe of their loſing me, that he " may be their ſupport and conſolation, as " long as they ſhall remain in this periſhable " world.

" I recommend my children to my wife. " I never doubted her maternal tenderneſs; " and I recommend, above all, that ſhe " carefully endeavour to make them good " Chriſtians; to teach them to conſider " worldly grandeur as dangerous and pe- " riſhable, and to fix their minds on eter- " nity, where alone ſolid and laſting glory " is to be found. I intreat my ſiſter to " continue her tenderneſs to my children,

" and

" and that ſhe will be to them as a parent,
" if they ſhould have the misfortune to loſe
" their mother. I beſeech my wife to for-
" give me all thoſe hardſhips ſhe has un-
" dergone on my account, and all the un-
" eaſineſs I may have given her in the
" courſe of our union; and if ſhe ſhould
" think that ſhe has any cauſe to reproach
" herſelf on account of any part of her
" conduct towards me, ſhe may reſt aſſured
" that I retain nothing on my mind unfa-
" vourable to her.

" I recommend, with the greateſt ear-
" neſtneſs, to my children, after what they
" owe to God, which muſt ever be conſi-
" dered as their firſt duty, to remain always
" united to each other, ſubmiſſive and obe-
" dient to their mother, and grateful for
" the pain and care ſhe takes of them; and
" I conjure them, for my ſake, to reſpect
" their aunt as a ſecond mother.

" If my ſon ſhould ever have the misfor-
" tune to be eſtabliſhed on the Throne, I
" anxiouſly recommend that he ſhould de-
" vote himſelf to the happineſs of his coun-
" trymen; that he ſhould diveſt himſelf
" of all reſentments and animoſities, parti-
" cularly thoſe which have a reference to

" my

" my misfortunes and miſeries. He can
" inſure the happineſs of the people only
" by reigning according to the laws; al-
" though, at the ſame time, a King cannot
" make himſelf reſpected, and do all the
" good which is in his heart, without a
" neceſſary degree of authority; without
" which he muſt be confined in his opera-
" tions; and when he cannot acquire re-
" ſpect, he neceſſarily becomes more hurt-
" ful than uſeful.

" I recommend to my ſon to take care of
" all thoſe perſons who have been attached
" to me, as far as the circumſtances in
" which he may find himſelf, ſhall afford
" him opportunity. He ought ever to re-
" gard this as a ſacred debt which I have
" contracted towards the children or parents
" of thoſe who periſhed for my ſake, or
" have been rendered miſerable on my ac-
" count. I know there are ſeveral perſons,
" amongſt thoſe who were attached to me,
" who have not behaved towards me as
" they ought to have done, and who have
" even ſhown ingratitude: but I forgive
" them (for in times of trouble and effer-
" veſcence, men are not always maſters of
" their conduct); and I beſeech my ſon,

" ſhould he find an opportunity of ſerving
" them, to reflect only on their misfortunes.
" I wiſh it were in my power openly to
" expreſs my gratitude to all who have
" ſhewn me a truly diſintereſted attach-
" ment: but if I have been painfully af-
" fected by the ingratitude and diſloyalty of
" thoſe to whom I have always acted with
" kindneſs, I have likewiſe had the con-
" ſolation of receiving ſervices and ſtrong
" marks of attachment from ſeveral of my
" ſubjects, on whom I never had beſtowed
" any favour. I beg that all thoſe perſons
" will accept my grateful acknowledgments.
" In the preſent ſituation of things, I fear
" that I ſhould injure them by being more
" explicit on this ſubject: but I particu-
" larly exhort my ſon to ſeek opportunities of
" making them a ſuitable return. I think,
" however, that it would be calumniating
" the nation to expreſs any fear of openly
" recommending to my ſon M. *de Chamilly*
" and M. *Hue*, whoſe ſincere attachment
" to me has induced them to ſhut them-
" ſelves up along with me in this melan-
" choly abode, and who have been fre-
" quently in danger of becoming victims
" to their generoſity. I alſo recommend to

" him *Clery*, with whoſe attention I have " every reaſon to be ſatisfied ſince he has " been with me; and as he has remained " with me to the laſt, I beg of the Com- " mune to give him my clothes, my " books, my watch, my money, and all " the other effects belonging to me which " have been depoſited in the hands of the " Council of the Commune.

" I moſt willingly pardon thoſe who " guarded me the harſhneſs of their con- " duct, and the conſtraint which they " thought neceſſary to impoſe upon me. " I have found in the Temple ſome perſons " of feeling and humanity: may they long " enjoy that ſerenity of mind which ſuch " diſpoſitions naturally produce!

" I beſeech Meſſrs. *de Maleſherbes*, *Tron-* " *chet*, and *Deſeze*, to receive my moſt " grateful thanks and cordial acknowledg- " ments for the pain and labour they have " taken for me.

" I conclude, by declaring before God, " being ready to appear in his preſence, that " I do not reproach myſelf with any of " thoſe crimes with which I have been " charged.

" LOUIS."

Frenchmen — Such are the ſentiments which that holy religion inſpires whoſe ſacred altars you have permitted to be overturned! Such was the excellent King who was repreſented to you as a tyrant, and whom you permitted to be murdered in your name! — Such is the execrable crime, the anniverſary of which the deſpots who ruled you dared to place among your national feſtivals, and which you were compelled to commemorate. Still would you have been compelled to it, but for the unexpected riſe of that extraordinary man, whoſe talents, victories, energy, and fortune, ſuddenly elevated him to the head of your Government; who diſtinguiſhed the firſt acts of his authority by aboliſhing that horrible feſtival; and who has ſince cauſed the ſtatue of the virtuous *Maleſherbes* to be placed in the Hall conſecrated to great men. To what an illuſtrious fate does he ſeem deſtined! What glory can be compared to that which muſt be his, when the day arrives, in which, for the happineſs of France, he ſhall be powerful enough to be altogether juſt!

CON-

CONCLUSION.

THE French Revolution is an awful leſſon both to ſovereigns and ſubjects. May the inſtruction it conveys not be loſt to the human race, who have purchaſed it at the price of ſo much blood; nor to France, which it has plunged into ſo much guilt! May it teach Kings, that benevolence, piety, and all the mild and amiable virtues which can adorn a Throne, are not the qualities the moſt effectual for its ſupport! Juſtice and prudence to command, vigour and firmneſs in exacting obedience, are the only virtues by which a Sovereign can maintain his authority, and which can effectually ſecure him againſt the dangers of a Revolution.

May the people, admoniſhed by our calamities, learn to regard the government under which they are born as their moſt invaluable property; as the ſureſt protection of every thing that is dear to them! May the experience of all ages, and of all nations,

convince them, that there never exiſted a government free from abuſes; that thoſe to which they are accuſtomed are the eaſieſt to ſupport. Let them be taught, that thoſe ambitious, wicked, or mad perſons, who, under the ſpecious pretext of reform abuſes ſhall propoſe a change in their government, will ever prove their moſt dangerous enemies. It is to their inſidious doctrines and diabolical machinations that France may impute the horrible events and innumerable calamities which overwhelm and diſgrace her.

How ought ſhe now to abhor thoſe outrageous apoſtles of liberty and the ſovereignty of the people, who have never been able nor inclined to produce any other reſult from their doctrines than licentiouſneſs and anarchy! How ought ſhe to abhor thoſe pretended reſtorers of the rights of man, who with impunity, have violated and trodden under foot the moſt ſacred laws of humanity!

NOTES.

NOTES.

A. [See page 333.]

Note relative to Barrere.

IN the immenſe number of thoſe worthleſs men who had no character, no principle, and who were drawn from obſcurity by the Revolution to be made the inſtruments of it, *Barrere* was beyond contradiction one of the moſt odious and moſt deſpicable. Born in Bigorre, of a genteel family, and poſſeſſed of a ſmall fortune, he ſtudied the law, and was called to the Bar. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Parliament of Toulouſe by a readineſs in ſpeaking, particularly by the uſe of antitheſis. He was, in a word, reckoned among the young advocates of the greateſt hope, and the

Academy of the *Jeux Floraux** admitted him a Deputy to the States-General, but made no figure among the orators of that Aſſembly, and was only diſtinguiſhed from the crowd of the Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* by a little Journal, ſufficiently accurate, which he called *Le Point du Jour*. His peii, at firſt timid and modeſt, grew bolder and ſtronger as the progreſs of the Revolution became more rapid and more certain. The chances of preferment and fortune which it held out to ambitious men of the nature of *Barrere*, ſeduced him, and he very ſoon appeared one of its moſt zealous agents, a worthy Member of the Jacobin Club. He was rewarded for this with a place in the *Tribunal de Caſſation*, to which he was appointed during the Second Aſſembly. It was ſurely fortunate for a petty Provincial Advocate to have attained ſo rapidly one of the moſt eminent offices of the magiſtracy in the new ſyſtem; and had *Barrere* been wiſe enough to confine his ambition there, his plebeian extravagances, effaced and loſt in the immenſe multitude of the enormous crimes of the Revolution, might have been forgotten; and had he reſtricted himſelf to diſcharging with zeal and integrity his

* This academy was eſtabliſhed in 1324 at Toulouſe, and was the remains of thoſe ancient Troubadours who were Knights-Errant, and went from houſe to houſe ſinging and making love.

duty

duty as a magiſtrate, the eſteem of worthy men, and the gratitude of the public would have been the reward of his conduct: but the criſis of the 10th of Auguſt having overthrown the Conſtitution, and placed the ſovereignty and all the powers at the diſcretion of the villains who compoſed the Revolutionary Commune of Paris, *Barrere* could not be ſatisfied without having his ſhare in them. The ſtate to which he was confined by the functions of the *Tribunal de Caſſation* appeared to him too inſignificant and ſubordinate. He ſolicited and obtained a place in the Committee of Patriotic Lawyers, which the ſavage *Danton*, after his appointment to the Miniſtry, affected to attach to his Department, and which he called the *Council of Juſtice*, in order to make the Pariſians believe that he wiſhed to be the moſt juſt of all the Miniſters. *Barrere* could not be in a better ſchool for completing his apprenticeſhip in wickedneſs; and he there perfected his patriotic jargon and revolutionary empiriciſm. He did not indeed acquire in it energy, of which he was unſuſceptible; but he improved, what we muſt not confound with energy, that tone of effrontery and arrogance always aſſumed by cowards when they feel themſelves the ſtrongeſt: and ſuch was the real nature of *Barrere*. But, at the period when he again appeared upon the ſtage as a Member of the Convention, the Revolution, triumphing over all parties, protected by thouſands of

of brigands, and a delirious nation, no longer had occaſion for conſpirators of a ſuperior caſt like *Mirabeau*; the moſt daſtardly crimes were all that were then neceſſary to complete it. Nothing more, in fact, remained to be done than to habituate the people to aſſaſſination, and make them approve every murder by cauſing the Tribune to reſound daily with the moſt atrocious calumnies againſt the King, the Emigrants, the Prieſts, and the Royaliſts, whoſe throats were to be cut. No one was fitter than *Barrere* to play this part: he therefore undertook to render the guillotine popular, and he made it the patron of the Revolution*.

After the condemnation of the King, in which he had a greater ſhare than any of his colleagues, he compoſed the addreſs of the Convention to the people to congratulate them *on the death of the tyrant*. A Member of the Committee of Public Safety under *Robeſpierre*, that monſter's chief agent, and his vocal organ in the Tribune, the moſt atrocious meaſures, the moſt ſanguinary laws were all propoſed by him. It was always he who gave the Aſſembly an account of the correſpondence of the Generals, and thoſe reports, rendered ridiculous and diſguſting by the falſehoods and vauntings with which they were filled, would make ſeveral large volumes. He was the inſti-

* Mr. *Burke* called *Barrere* the *Anacreon of the guillotine*.

gator

gator of the decree for trying the Queen by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of that which ordained that the tombs of the Kings ſhould be deſtroyed, and their aſhes thrown to the winds. He it was who propoſed the law of the *Maximum*, that for putting all the youth of France into requiſition, and that which eſtabliſhed the Revolutionary army, which ſignaliſed itſelf by ſo many crimes. He was the apologiſt of the infamous *Joſeph Le Bon*, and ſaw in the innumerable maſſacres, on account of which that cannibal had been denounced to the Convention, *only forms a little harſh, but excuſable, as having ſerved to deſtroy the ſnares of Ariſtocracy.* He had ſaid, a few days before, "The dead alone return no more*." After Lyons was taken by the Republican armies, he propoſed a decree, which was paſſed, that that town ſhould be deſtroyed, that its name ſhould be effaced from the liſt of the towns of France, that the houſes preſerved ſhould go by the name of *Commune Affranchie*, and that there ſhould be raiſed on the ruins of the others a column bearing this inſcription: *Lyons made war againſt Liberty—Lyons is no more.*

While *Robeſpierre* preſerved his power, he had no friend, or rather accomplice, more zealous, more faithful than *Barrere*; but at the very inſtant

* See the minutes of the Sittings of the 16 and 21 Meſſidor, Auguſt 11th, 2d year.

of

of his fall, this faithful friend, who had kept a profound ſilence during the debate that effected it, aſcended the Tribune, and made a report againſt him and the other Members of the Committee of Public Safety who were denounced. This meanneſs ſaved him for the time, but rendered him an object of hatred and contempt to all parties. Being denounced as an accomplice of *Robeſpierre*, he was at firſt expelled from the Committee of Public Safety; but another report being made on that denunciation a few months after, a decree of impeachment paſſed on the 2d of March 1795 againſt *Barrere*, who was condemned on the 1ſt of March following to be tranſported to Guyane. Secretly protected by the regicides who then compoſed the Directory, he contrived to eſcape, and to conceal himſelf from all ſearch, and was even appointed ſome time after Deputy to the Council of Five Hundred, where, however, he did not dare to ſhow himſelf, but remained concealed in his Province.

After the Revolution effected in the month of November by General *Bonaparte*, *Barrere* implored the mercy of the Government, and obtained his pardon. He was denounced in the Club of Jacobins on the 1ſt of December 1793, as a purchaſer of property to the amount of 600,000 livres; and it paſſed for an indiſputed fact, that he had placed out three millions of livres

livres in Denmark and in Italy. But it is of little conſequence to know the extent of the robberies he may have committed; however numerous, however conſiderable, they will always be deemed the leaſt of his crimes.

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The Reader's indulgence is requested for the following

ERRATA.

VOL. V.

Page 9. line 5. *for* Seſſions *read* Seſſion
15. — 16. *for* Coulhon *read* Couthon
17. — 9. *for* Miniſter *read* Miniſters
25. — 12. *for* and the public *read* in the public opinion
60. — 26. *for* black friends *read* friends of the Blacks
62. — 5. *for* black friends *read* friends of the Blacks
84. — 22. *for* June *read* January
129. — 2. *for* had taken *read* had not taken
148. — 3. *for* heart *read* Court
5. *for* his claſs *read* them
158. — 28. *for* a falſe ſpirit *read* an imitation
162. — 23. *for* a letter *read* the letter
166. — 20. *for* every time *read* unleſs
22. *for* does not alter *read* alters
190. — 23. *for* Choiſeuil Gouſſin *read* Choiſeuil Gouſſier
24. *for* De Montiers *read* De Moutiers
27. *for* De Montiel *read* De Monciel
30. *for* De Maekan *read* De Mackau
199. — 16. *for* Gonepe *read* Goneſſe
214. — 5. *for* ſhe is *read* ſhe has
220. — 1. *for* denunciators *read* denunciations
248. — 11. *for* Benguot *read* Beugnot
18. *for* Bourgignon *read* Burgundy
252. — 21. *for* 1755 *read* 1756
275. — 23. *for* men *read* women
290. — 21. *for* places *read* plans
303. — 15. *dele* not
304. — 18. *for* Legrevole *read* Lagrevole
320. — 12. *for* and *read* though
323. — 5. *for* Marlet *read* Merlet
337. — 23. *for* this *read* his
390. — 15. *for* Gaudet *read* Guadet (*paſſim*)

VOL. VI.

Page 24. line 12. *for* Jalis *read* Jalès
28. — 15. *for* Marnejols *read* Maruejols
30. — 13. *for* theoriſt *read* Théroigne
45. — 16. *for* men ſhall pay *read* honours ſhall reward
67. — 20. *for* Bougnol *read* Beugnot
26. *for* of *read* for, and *for* reinſtated *read* ſucceeded
76. — 14. *for* one Lieutenant *read* a friend of one Lieutenant
134. — 34. *for* 190,000 *read* 1,900,000
136. — 1. *for* Arlow *read* Arlon
136. — 7. *for* Givel *read* Givet (*paſſim*)
138. — 25. *for* Bouſſa *read* Bouſſu (*paſſim*)
167. — 21. *for* Lambelle *read* Lamballe
171. — 21. *for* offices of the Juſtices *read* police
172. — 2. *for* offices of the Juſtices *read* police
18. *for* offices of the Juſtices *read* police
185. — 20. *for* Now *read* How
230. — 23. *for* ragbags, (chiffioniere) *read* rag-pickers, (chiffoniers)
284. — 5, 6. *read* this idea alienated from him the majority of the Aſſembly and of the Jacobins
289. — 28. *for* exorciſing *read* exerciſing
332. — 23. *for* St. Haruge *read* St. Huruge
337. — 8, 14. *for* Aclogne *read* Acloque
341. — 23. *for* Duvezoult *read* D'Averhoult
349. — 2. *for* of having *read* of not having
355. — 9. *for* Priameneu *read* Préameneu
362. — 23. *for* a ſerjeant who had opened *read* one Sergent who, it was ſaid, had opened
366. — 2. *for* Soiſſon *read* Soiſſons
28. *for* was *read* were
380. — 26. *for* Dacaieu *read* Decaieu
381. — 19, 26. *for* Aigne *read* Aiſne
394. — 11. *for* forgot *read* forget
403. — 25. *dele* and
404. — 9. *for* Compeigne *read* Compiegne
430. — 17. *for* avowal *read* diſavowal
445. — 29. *for* Rochiers *read* Rouhiers

VOL. VII.

Page 38. line 15. *for* the *read* them
86. --- 18. *for* band *read* bond
91. --- 8. *for* diſtrict *read* diſtricts
103. --- 21. *for* reigners *read* foreigners
118. laſt line of the note. *for* See the letter Appendix No. XXXI. *read* See that letter in the *Courier de Londres* of the 2d of January 1798
170. --- 16. *for* Bouvelards *read* Boulevarts *(paſſim)*
186 --- 10. *for* ſuſpected *read* reſpected
188. --- 15. *for* vigourous *read* rigorous
252. --- 10. *for* foreign Courts *read* the Parliaments
12. *dele* at home
352. laſt word. *for* ive *read* iræ
391. line 8. *for* four o'clock *read* ſix o'clock
399. --- 12. *for* admired the 10th of Auguſt *read* admired the outrages of the 10th of Auguſt
405. --- 13. *for* ſnatched to you, we ſhall owe the glory of having from the abyſs *read* we ſhall owe to you the glory of having ſnatched from the abyſs
434. --- 2. *dele* Pouilleuſe
438. --- 15. *for* country *read* countrymen
447. --- 12. and 14. *for* Monteville *read* Monceville

VOL. VIII.

Page 95. line 9. *for* or Kellerman *read* of Kellerman
190. --- 14. *for* waiſtcoat *read* wainſcot
279. laſt line of the note, *for* at the end of this volume *read* in the Appendix
302. line 10. *for* of the moſt *read* of one of the moſt
336. --- 4, *for* Miniſter *read* Miniſtry

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